THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION VOLUME 1, NUMBER 7 JANUARY 1991

FREE

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Much progress has been made, much work remains to be done

Edited by Patrick Tassoni

Iraqi Invasion:

An Excuse For Enviromental Exploitation

With the ushering in of the new year, Americans should ask a question of their federal government, "what will the 1991 Federal Energy Budget bring?" Will it be a resolution of social responsibility and a promise of environmental quality or will it be another year of short-sighted and misapplied concerns? Most likely the new energy policy will be a perpetuation of the ones of the past years, namely the expansion of petroleum production and the nuclear industry and the defeat of conservation and renewable energy sources, like solar and wind technologies.

The federal government expended $44 to $60 billion of American taxpayer's money in subsidies to the energy industry in 1984, two-thirds of which went to petroleum and nuclear power. Renewable energy was allocated only 6 percent and conservation only 5 percent of these subsidies. Both petroleum and nuclear energy production have considerable adverse effects upon the environment; and the funds needed for their clean-up are scarce. Solar and wind technologies, on the other hand, are clean and could easily replace the 4.7 percent of electricity generated by oil as well as lessening (and potentially eliminating) nuclear production. Clearly, the imperative to reverse these priorities is now more urgent than ever as we face an impending war with Iraq over oil.

Rocky Mountain Institute and Georgetown University analyses show that the cost to the United States for protecting Mideast oil is about $46 billion annually for Persian Gulf military readiness. This is before considering the far higher expenditures of the current crisis, which are estimated to run an additional $1 billion. The real price for Persian Gulf petroleum imports is over $100 a barrel, about three times the average price.

Little is thought of and known by Americans in general about the energy options. Although each option is a subject in itself (and lengthy ones at that), the most promising one is simply conservation. Conservation is not a matter of "doing without" or of "tightening the belt", but rather it means doing more with less energy. The important factor is efficiency. Conservation holds a promise for short-term and long-term effects, which can significantly affect the nation and the federal budget, as well as the whole world.

Kelsie Love's, age 9, vision of a world in balance and a world at peace, which includes recycling and conservation. Her design incorporates the Chinese symbol for Yin and Yang, the peace symbol and the globe.

In the wake of the 1970's energy crisis, President Carter enacted various programs to promote the expansion of renewable energy sources and conservation. However, Reagan's policies discontinued these, and he even went so far as to remove solar panels from the roof of the White House that Carter had installed. Since 1985, the federal government has dismantled virtually every energy conservation policy enacted. The result of this energy policy is that the U.S. is now twice as dependent on OPEC oil than it was in 1985, and we don't have to be.

Bush, like Reagan, is exploiting a situation, namely the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, by creating a crisis that supposedly can only be solved here in the states by a further reduction of environmental regulations. Most specifically targeted are areas set aside for preservation.

Using the Iraq/Kuwait crisis as a smokescreen, Big Oil moved rapidly in the closing days of the last Congress hoping to stampede legislators into opening up national wildlife refuges, federally protected wilderness areas and protected offshore waters for drilling. All in the name of national security. When Congress convenes in January, pressure will be put on them by oil lobbyists to allow the drilling of the Artic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska, the Pacific Coast of California, the Gulf Coast of Florida, and the Atlantic Coast south of Massachusetts. The sacrifice of these national treasures for the production of oil is a crime as it is unnecessary.

The real solution to our oil dependent economy is to minimize the use of oil, which also brings with it severe environmental problems like pollution. Several thorough analyses by Rocky Mountain Institute, Electric Power Research Institute, Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory and other respected groups overwhelmingly conclude that it is far less expensive to save energy than it is to increase the supply- conservation over production.

The amount of savings available to us at less cost than producing more energy is not just a few percent as is commonly supposed, but 30 to 75 percent of all energy used. Since 1979, more than seven times as much new energy has come from reduced energy intensity as from all net increases in energy supply. From 1977 to 1985, the U.S. increased its national oil productivity, using only half as much oil as we would have given economic growth. This was accomplished largely via simple means such as caulk guns, duct tape, insulation, and a five mile

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Letters

Cockroach Philosophy

Dear Editor,

Don Marquis was an outstanding columnist for the New York Sun in the early 1900s, and creator of "archy and mehitabel," the famous cockroach and cat who lived in "the boss'" office. One night archy found a sheet of paper left in the typewriter, and discovered that by diving head first onto a key, he could laboriously write out his thoughts on what was happening in the world, but without capitals or punctuation.

With Bush's apparent determination to lead us into war, regardless of what "we the people" want, one of Archie's "vers libre" poems spells out a truth I hope will be heard in our Congress, our White House, and our courts:

"now look at it

the human race never would
take my advice and now just look at it
planning more wars which mean
more debts more trouble and still more wars
well if it wants to commit suicide
why should a little insect such as i
worry about it
a suicide is a person who has
considered his own case and decided
that he is worthless and who acts
as his own judge jury and executioner
and he probably knows better
than anyone else whether there is justice
in the verdict
i am sorry to see the human race go
for it was in some respects almost as interesting
as several species of insects
but if it wants to die off
i shall not worry about it
i shall merely conclude it knows what it wants

archy the cockroach"

I highly recommend Marquis's "the lives and times of archy and mehitabel," the author being described as a "parodist, historian, poet, clown, fable writer, satirist, reporter, and teller of tales," by E.B. White the famous author. "He had everything it takes and more," said White.

He certainly understood what war is all about...I hope our "leaders" find out before it is too late.

Best regards...
John Thorne

Socialism Is Misdefined

Dear Sir,

I am writing in response to your article, "Socialism from below", page 10, December issue by Dave Jette.

There is a common misconception as to what Socialism is. First, Karl Marx's (1818-1883) ideas may have been responsible to some degree with the Russian revolution of 1917, most socialists hoped that it would spread world wide, but knew also that it probably would not as the country was mostly agricultural. Even Lenin said, in effect, that socialism can change to suit conditions and still be Socialism.

As a result, Russia became state owned. There may have been statues of Marx in Russia, but anyone advocating his ideas would be likely to be arrested. There never was a socialist government in the world. Except the Paris Commune of 1871 March 18. It is a shame that all those who fought for Socialism (workers and peasants) and died in 1917 had been in vain. Only to revert to Capitalism today. So how can socialism fail if there never was Socialism in the first place? Please find enclosed a pamphlet where you may get more information on Socialism and copies of Marx's works. This is a political party since 1891. The People is published every 2 weeks. It carries no advertisement. Also works by Daniel De Leon, Engles, as well as Marx's works.

Karl Marx's ideas still live, although the ruling class still tries to bury him with misconception after 172 years (1818-1990) they still can't put the last nail to the coffin.

Yours truly
Milton Poulos

P.S. - There are only 2 classes. 1) The owners and billionaires of the means of production 2) And the working people who have nothing to say about wages working conditions, the environment, war, etc. It will be this way until they wake up and control the workplace, offices, mills, mines, etc. Farms, distribution, shipping.

Landless Slaves To Land Owners

W.I.P. Editors,

All around the world from time immemorial landowners have enslaved those without land. Here we talk about our land, our country, our nation, but still landowners live off of unearned income from land price inflation and from charging others for permission to use land to produce capital and wealth. Wealth and capital are man-made products. Wealth is any product used to satisfy human material desires. Capital is any product used to produce more products. Capital is also products enroute to the consumer of wealth.

Landowners can claim products without producing products. Landowners launder their rent-of-land by buying capital, then they call themselves capitalists when they really gained their power by being landlords.

God bless,
Marvin Saillard

Editors' Note: We will be running a series of Mr. Saillard's writings o beginning this month on page 15.

Congrats, A Good Investment

Meta Heller and I attended a special meeting of the State Investment Board on December 12. The agenda consisted appraisal of and recommendations regarding real estate investments, which was very interesting.

Because of new tight regulations on banks, pension funds are the only source of loan funds these days. Real estate has been going down hill over a long period of time. WSIB has 617 properties. These are concentrated in office and industrial properties—no mobile home parks [which do provide working class housing].

WSIB property returns have outperformed T Bills and others over the last four years. We are not following the trend down at this time. Office vacancy rates have risen sharply. Even strong rental properties have gone down as office unemployment has risen. Industrial vacancy rates are also going down.

"There is going to be more blood in the streets." " In 1991 and 1992 there will be so little credit available, that this situation provides important opportunities for WSIB.

This is the time to invest in real estate, while there is a real shortage of investment money. We suggest you acquire a great deal of empty office space but hold it for 2 or 3 years, when business will pick up."

I was getting upset, so, during coffee break, I introduced myself to Greg Baarson, Deputy director of the Investment Board and responsible for the Real Estate Division. I told him our concern in the Rainbow Coalition is the largest immediate demand and crying need is for low income and working class housing everywhere. I suggested that such investment could have a widespread impact on our economy. Such an investment would give a boost to real estate and to the whole construction industry, as well as to industries which make and supply all the materials used in housing construction, and also boost industries and sales of appliances and furnishing of all kinds— all of which could make a real contribution to a turn around in the recession—at a more modest return than most of their investments, but an investment in meeting basic needs, which is more important in the long run.

Greg was smiling. So when I quit expostulating, he commented that the Board has invested in the Olive Towers, an 86 unit complex in Pioneer Square, for low and moderate rentals. They are also looking into properties in the Denny Regrade area.

Of course, I was delighted with this information—as a beginning—and wondered why we never heard of it. He said they don't publicize it.

A beginning! Let's encourage them!

I mentioned Homes First and that we have acquired two large homes and three unit complex by moving them, but that land on which to place them is very expensive. Greg offered the information that the county owns a great deal of property and that frequently it is possible to exchange such property for other property in a more a more appropriate location. (We prefer property close to public transportation and shopping facilities.) Greg did indeed offer us some helpful information!

Evelyn Montague

Winning Without War

Dear gentle readers,

Roger Fisher and Wayne Davis, from the Harvard Negotiation Project are trying to convince concerned citizens of "Winning without war" in the Middle East.

I would like to share their four main points with you:

1) If sanctions and the threat of war are to work, Iraq must know what will happen if it withdraws....He is being asked to jump out of the frying pan into an unknown fire.

2) A deal is possible—without rewarding aggression...Negotiation does not mean giving in...The guiding standard should be that neither Iraq nor anyone else gets more than that to which they are entitled...We will have to negotiate at some point—either before a war or afterward..It is far less costly to do so beforehand.

3) It is better to deal with Iraq's future politically than militarily... A war cannot guarantee an intact Kuwait.

4) The economic embargo is already working. We are now meeting the basic U.S. interests in the Gulf...If Iraq does not withdraw by January 15, we can and should continue sanctions indefinitely.

Thanks for letting me share this with you,

Yours Sincerely,
Pat Holm

W.I.P. EDITORIAL BOARD

Dave Campbell, Regina Costa, Pat Holm, Matt Love, Evelyn Montague, Marie Smith, Lon Freeman, Tom Freeman, Kendra Jennings, Teresa Jennings, Chris Jordan, Sylvia Smith, Pat Tassoni, Al Zimmerman

Works In Progress is a community newspaper sponsored by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Rainbow Coalition or the WIP Editorial Board.

Keep those letters and cards coming. Correspondence and articles are always welcome. Send submissions to Works in Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507.

In The Works. . .

Works In Progress is not your every day Gannett newspaper. Even though our monthly budget is only around $300 - $400, our treasurer has been threatening us with "This is your last issue" for six months. There are no paid positions, and there is no hierarchy. (People have been attempting to push the coordinator of this paper into de facto leadership out of discomfort in something new. Fortunately, the present coordinator gags at the mention of power.)

Besides being almost in the red and organizationally structured like a pancake, we belong to no news service and have no reporters. We tried doing articles reporter style, but it just didn't work out. When people weren't working on a topic of their own, they generally didn't do a very good job or the article didn't get written. Our observations, we think, are proven by the fine work of WIP contributors. Some folks may say, "Yes, but that's biased reporting". We say, "So show us unbiased reporting". To us, this is a theory to prove what isn't, is, and a method of discouraging people from telling their truths because they are (gasp) tainted with "bias".

The only draw back to this style of operation, is that often there are issues that are neglected because we aren't aware of them or we don't have the ability to find interested people to write them up. How well we do in overcoming this problem is, in large part, dependent upon our readers and others in the community.

People are often suggesting issues that Works In Progress should be covering or bringing forth. It has been mentioned more than once that someone needs to cover public meetings on a regular basis. "Fine", we say, "would you like to write that up in article or letter form?"

- Sylvia Smith, Editorial Board

Submitting to W.I.P.

Here are a few suggestions to make it easier.

1) Don't worry about grammar or making spelling errors.

2) Don't worry about not winning a Nobel Prize. The larger purpose lies in getting the story out. Write the article from your viewpoint & in your own words. People like personal stories.

3) We like getting submissions on computer disks in text format with a printed copy and we certainly won't refuse hand written compositions. (We're not very picky.)

4) Submission deadlines are generally ten days before the last Friday of the month. (We always print WIP on the last Friday of the month for distribution purposes.)

5) Mail your article to WIP, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507.

6) Please include your telephone number or some way in which we can contact you in case we have any questions or problems like "the computer destroyed your file".

7) We have in the past given permission to other publications to reprint articles submitted to WIP. If you don't want your article reprinted in other newspapers, magazines or newsletters, please let us know when you send it in.

Articles for WIP do not necessarily need to be burning ones. Sometimes you may have information or an opinion that people may need to hear before an issue catches fire. As the saying goes, "prevention is the best medicine."

We also enjoy letters to WIP and consider them to be an important component of this publication. Our readers feedback is the major way in knowing if we are doing our jobs right or even wrong. So, please, don't hesitate to drop us a line.

No Taxes For War

Dear Friends,

It is time for reflecting on the year's activities and for planning ahead, and alarmingly this year, it is time to contemplate our nation's probable venture into a Persian Gulf War. The magnitude and horror of this event, and the seemingly unstoppable determination of our government to begin a fighting war is outrageous. It is also a compelling call to action and protest in all forms. In Seattle, our demonstrations are getting bigger by the week. Thousands of us, I hope, are writing and wiring to Congress. And many of NWTRCC's supporters are reviewing their stand of conscience and direct resistance to war. This season of war is inspiring renewed strength, determination and commitment to war tax resistance.

In reviewing the past year, we also see that the Internal Revenue Service has significantly escalated and improved its collection capabilities. More of us have experienced levies, and more of us are vulnerable to levies. For some this has caused hardship and reconsideration of the witness of WTR. For others it has become an opportunity to publicize and escalate their resistance.

In the current political environment, NWTRCC needs to be working harder than ever to provide information and support to long-time and new war tax resisters. I am asking you to make a financial donation that will enable us to increase our efforts to respond to world events and provide information and support during 1991. As Americans grapple with the implications of war, some will experience the depth of revulsion, hopelessness and motivation that inspires the path of conscientious resistance. NWTRCC needs to be there for you as you travel this path.

In peace and hope,
Carolyn Stevens, Coordinator
National War Tax Resistance
Coordinating Committee
P.O. Box 85810
Seattle, Washington 98145

Eduard Shevardnadze: Mr. Yes Man Goes Home

Alexander Cockburn

The undistinguished career of Eduard Shevardnadze as Soviet foreign minister glowed in the farewell tributes of his Western fans as if he had been Talleyrand. From Secretary of State James Baker, from the German foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, from the Western World, came testaments to the deep personal friendship born for the white-haired Georgian, mingled with strophes about this vision and reforming zeal.

Whatever Shevardnadze's achievements earlier in his career . . . his spell as foreign minister was a classic example of how to play a weak hand badly.

Whatever Shevardnadze's achievements earlier in his career battling organized crime in his native Georgia, and whatever opportunities his career might still hold (for by no means should he be counted entirely out of the game) his spell as foreign minister was a classic example of how to play a weak hand badly.

Entirely ignorant of international affairs when he was first drafted by Mikhail Gorbachev he never seemed to pick up much on the job beyond the propensity -- delightful from NATO's point of view -- to his surrender with scarcely the pretence of a struggle to the propositions of his opposite numbers at the negotiating table.

He was hailed as "Mr. Yes", thus to distinguish him from "Mr. No", his predecessor Andrei Gromyko who was the senior Soviet professional in the conduct of foreign affairs for four decades. But Gromyko was a knowledgeable person imbued with a certain world view -- he would have called it "revolutionary" -- which emerged in often surprisingly humane and comical ways in his memoirs, as when he recalled how sad he and his colleagues were at the death of Elvis Presley whom he considered a gifted talent distorted by capitalism and his rapacious manager.

It's unlikely that Shevardnadze's autobiography, should he come to write one, will contain such pleasing moments. The image he leaves behind as foreign minister most vividly to me is of him smirking from behind Mr. Baker like a compliant equerry, waving a small minnow. At least death spared Gromyko this painful spectacle of the undignified ebb to which in his comportment his successor had brought the conduct of Soviet foreign policy.

It would be unfair to tax him with decisions doubtless taken by Gorbachev, or the Gorbachev faction overall, but it was not necessarily a favor to his country or to a reforming and more flexible foreign policy to come across as a somewhat naive yes man for essentially a NATO take on what the structure of the post-cold-war world should be.

In the western press everything happening in the Soviet Union is reconstructed in cartoon terms as a battle between the "radicals" and the "conservatives", but it is worth getting a taste of the debate in the 4th Congress of Peoples' Deputies in the hours after Shevardnadze thunderstruck the audience by his sudden and somewhat hysterically phrased resignation.

"You, Shevardnadze," shouted the Byelorrussian writer Alexander Adamovitch, "together with Yakovlev and Gorbachev, you started Perestroika. You had no idea that these shoals of bastard would throw themselves at you."

Hardly had he sat down before Colonel Alksnin was on his feet: "In front of you there is a reactionary, in front of you there is a bastard. I understand the accusation. Yes, I'm a reactionary when I'm concerned about a baby thrown out of a burning building... Yes, I am for the resignation of Eduard Shevardnadze. I am not against foreign policy. No. We should leave Eastern Europe. But I'm against the way it is conducted."

Alksnin went on to criticize Shevardnadze's performance on the Gulf crisis, which did indeed leave much to be desired: Baker was able to stampede, cajole and bribe the UN Security Council into a resolution universally construed as sanctioning the use of force only because Shevardnadze signalled his support at the critical moment. But a responsible position, though one which would have involved him in the apparently abhorrent exercise of saying No to a US Secretary of State would have been for Shevardnadze to insist that economic sanctions were not being given adequate time to take effect and that the rush towards force was in fact illegal under the Charter (which it almost certainly is) since economic sanctions were thus being prematurely superseded.

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The trouble with Shevardnadze's public style in the execution of foreign policy was that it devalued the idiom of detente. If every negotiation begins with only token resistance and ends in abject surrender, then very soon the negotiating partner or adversary will take such a posture for granted and be outraged at the slightest display of resistance or backbone.

So the minute Shevardnadze's successor displays somewhat greater reserve to an American initiative there will be cries in Washington (by no means necessarily of distress) that the Nyet is back and the cold war once more raging. Shevardnadze should have reflected more on the advice of Talleyrand to his subordinates: "Pas de zele", "Don't be too enthusiastic," Romping around the post-cold-war world with Baker, Shevardnadze just looked and behaved like a pushover which is the last thing a foreign minister should ever resemble.

Regina Costa pays for Cockburn's column monthly. Thanks Regina!

Solidarity

Wishing you a happy and peaceful New Year from the members of local #443

Make your impact on the world.

JOIN THE WASHINGTON FEDERATION OF STATE EMPLOYEES TODAY!

AFSCME - Local 443 - AFL-CIO P.O. Box 105, Olympia, WA 98507
Phone 943-7178 Helen Lee, President

Please Don't Ride Greyhound During The Drivers' Strike

Dave Campbell

Are you tired of hitching a ride or paying nine dollars or more to go Greyhound? There are several alternatives if you have the time and/or find yourself short of money.

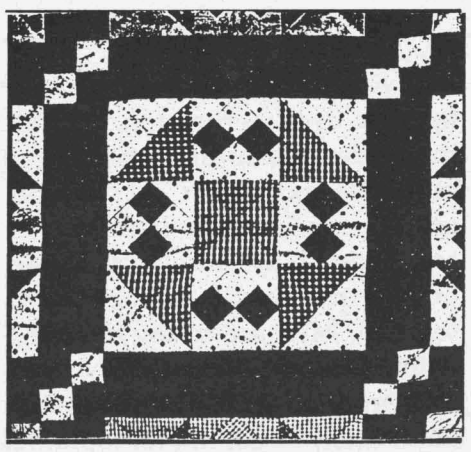
ON WEEKDAYS, there are now several different routes that can take you from Olympia to Tacoma and Seattle and back. Depending on the route you select, expect your trip to Tacoma to take 40 minutes to one hour. A trip from Olympia to Seattle can take between 2 1/2 and 4 hours. Pierce Transit has expanded its Seattle Express service, adding runs north and south in both the mornings and afternoons from downtown Seattle, downtown Tacoma and Lakewood Park & Ride. The fare from Olympia is approximately $1.25 to Tacoma/S. Federal Way. To Seattle, the cost ranges between 80 cents and $1.27. REMEMBER -- Always keep your transfers.

You can take dial-a-ride service to and from the Amtrak train station. Call 943-7777 to make reservations. (I recommend a three hour notice.) Also, you can take the Grays Harbor Transit bus to the ocean (call the 1-800 number below for further information Run times for all these buses are limited, so plan ahead!

Happy busing.

Transit Telephone Numbers

Intercity Transit (Olympia)	786-1881 (7 am - 6 pm, Mon-Sat)
Pierce Transit (Tacoma)	1-800-562-8109 (6 pm - 6 pm, Mon-Sat)
Metro (Seattle)	1-800-542-7876 (24 hours)
Grays Harbor Transit (Ocean)	1-800-562-9750 (5:30 am - 8:30 pm, Mon-Sat)



Patchworks

THE DECADE OF SOCIAL UNREST AND ECONOMIC COLLAPSE

Thomas Mitchell Freeman

It's 1991 and there's a growing uneasiness in the air. As the United States teeters on the brink of war in the Middle East, attention is diverting from an expanding and increasingly obvious economic crisis at home, a crisis which promises to make the '90's the decade of intense class conflict and financial collapse. However, this wave of discontent may harbor the potential for a rebirth of populist activism and a realignment of American society.

In *The Politics of Rich and Poor: Wealth and the American Electorate in the Reagan Aftermath*, Kevin Phillips clearly details how the 1980's witnessed a vast concentration of wealth in the top 1% of our population at an unprecedented cost to the middle and lower classes. Phillips is a Republican political analyst who worked with the Nixon Administration. He is best known for *The Emerging Republican Majority*, which during the 1960's, accurately predicted the coming conservative era in U.S. politics of the 1980's. Phillips argues that the excesses of the "Reagan Revolution" are bound to create a critical backlash as more Americans begin to identify the effects of Republican economic policies as a major source of their suffering. It was Reagan, after all, who rode to power promising to get government off the backs of the American people. In actuality, he succeeded in getting government off the backs of the wealthiest Americans - corporate fat-cats, financiers and investment speculators. In just five short years the Reagan Administration, with the aid of a complacent Congress, reversed a 50-year period of and gradual income redistribution downward. Reagan's program not only rerouted that income to the top but sent additional money up there as well. [For complete statistics, see Phillips book].

Phillips maintains that there have been three Republican "heydays" - the 1980's, the 1920's and the Gilded Age of the late 19th century. All three heydays have been "boom cycles marked by conservative ideologies and pro-business governments promoting less regulation, high interest rates and low taxes, periods in which the rich got richer on a crest of debt and speculation." Phillips points out that the top 1% have, as Jesse Jackson puts it, had a party of wealth and lavishness paid for by the working class - the farmers, the unemployed, the working poor, the homeless, the disadvantaged that makes up the majority of our population. Phillips warns Republicans that their actions have disengaged them from "the real needs, fears and hopes of the American majority."

I still find it difficult to understand how the scandal-ridden Reagan presidency attracted overwhelming support and affection from the very people hurt the most by these policies. One theory suggests that politics has evolved from the traditional economic, class-defined identity of interests to a polity based on moral issues. Moral issues include a candidate's position on abortion, Gay-rights and nuclear power. While people continue to vote on the basis of single issues, I am skeptical that this hypothesis correctly identifies the problem. Rather, I believe that the explanation lies in a profound misunderstanding of inequities in our economic system - capitalism.

In *The Wealth of Nations*, classical economist and capitalist guru Adam Smith states forthrightly, "Wherever there is great property, there is great inequality. For one very rich man, there must be at least five hundred poor, and the affluence of the few supposes the indigence of the many." Smith's analyses are still admired by an approving capitalistic society. But I don't believe people actually stop to contemplate what Smith is saying. He clearly tells us that the poor maintain the rich. Wealth accumulation in a capitalist society assures concentrated wealth supported by massive poverty. Of course, Smith also saw this as good and proper; after all, if one was wealthy, then one was deserving of that wealth. Likewise, the poor and indigent supposedly created their own lot.

We always hear that America is a land of equal opportunity and progress. But our ardent individualism tends to reward those who accumulate wealth with prestige, assumptions of intellectual superiority, and choice positions in industry and government. On the other extreme, those unable to accumulate wealth are stereotyped as lazy, uneducated persons who look for handouts and who are unwilling to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps. And if one is born a Rockefeller, a DuPont, or a Bush, that still doesn't change the basic fact that those who have wealth earned it and those who don't refused to work hard enough. Tell that to the parents who are each working two jobs to put their kids through school, or to keep their homes, or are in the fields night and day to save the family farms. [Farmers are perhaps the single most industrious group of workers there are and yet throughout history they have been the most maligned and poverty stricken, from the founding era into the farming foreclosures of today.]

Reagan, believing in the "magic of the market," theory of economics where inequities and imbalances systematically correct themselves, embarked on the deregulation of industry and banking. We are now witnessing the aftershocks of this "magic" in the growing S&L scandal, the single-most financial disaster in the history of human civilization, which promises to cost each living person in America at least $5,400 [to pay off the excesses of the super-rich] and which continues to mount new debt every month. [For a definitive analysis of the S&L debacle, see Robert Sherill's excellent essay in *The Nation*, Nov 19 1990]. Plus, the major banks in this country, heavily in debt through defaulting third world loans, also face growing likelihood of failure. The Bush Administration continues to deny that most large financial institutions are on the verge of collapse. They continue to try to place the financial burden of the S&L bailout on working America. In other words, the filthy rich have the party and we foot the bill.

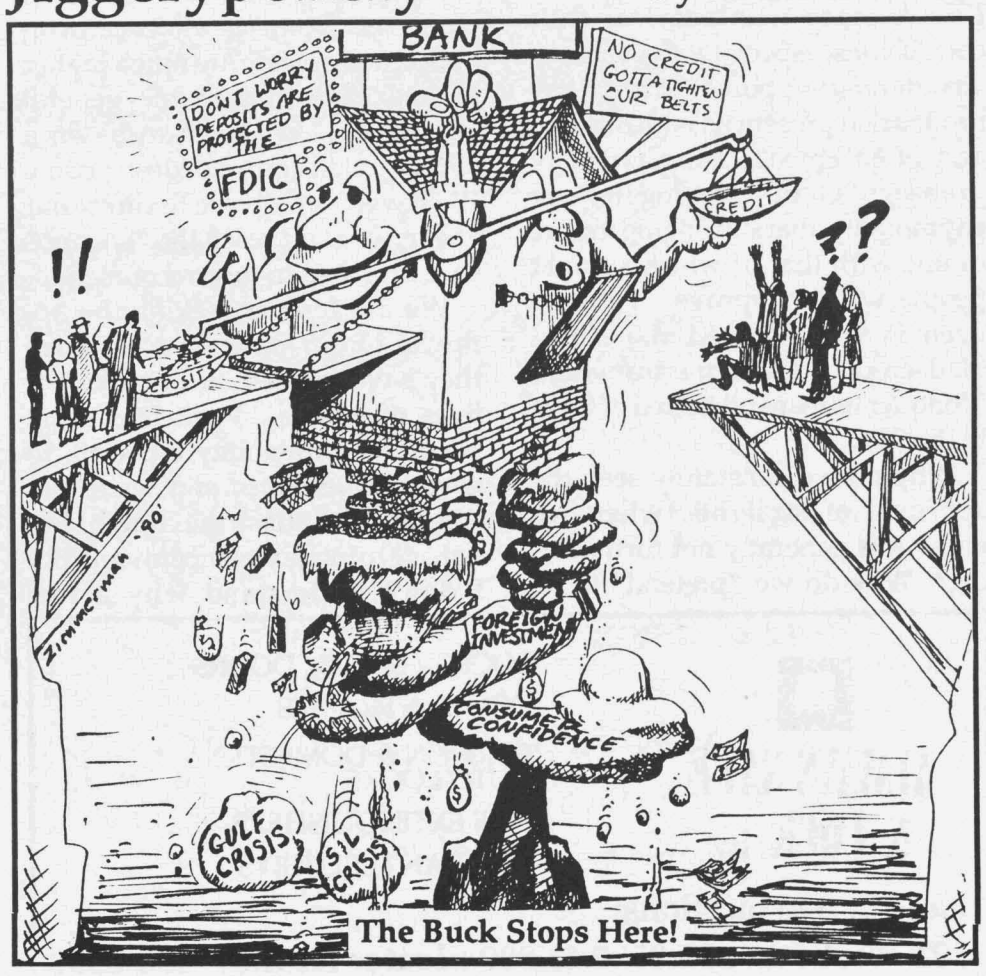
What can we do? First and foremost, build support networks. The almost assured economic crisis will create both confusion and fear, but out of darkness always comes light. Out of despair, comes hope. Out of anger comes activism. I believe that we will have a shot - perhaps a long-shot - at realigning American society, at re-defining America away from its corporate identity into a new working class identity. As frustration grows, we must be prepared to push for a system that builds the infrastructure from the bottom - national health care, free public transportation, guaranteed full-employment, housing for all and redistribution of wealth from the top of the pyramid to the base. Small businesses must be supported, not the multi-national corporate fat-cats. We must break free from the ideological chains of the capitalist two-party system of the rich [Democrats] and the super-rich [Republicans], that assure our disenfranchisement and alienates us through its profits-before-people priorities. Loyalty to parties must be replaced by education, agitation and political self-respect. Racism, sexism, heterosexism, ageism and other forms of bigotry must be abolished. We must learn, then learn to organize, and then organize! Only then can we realize a true American Dream. Only then will America be the land of golden opportunity.

Tom Freeman is a graduate student in Public Administration at The Evergreen State College. He is a recovering Democrat, a pretty nice guy, and he still believes that we can make the world a better place in which to live.

In the classic book The Wealth of Nations, capitalist guru Adam Smith states forthrightly that "Wherever there is great property, there is great inequality. For one very rich man, there must be at least five hundred poor.

Jiggerypokery

by Al Zimmerman



Good Little Gays

Ron Whiteaker

One of the things that has always amazed me is how "good" gays and lesbians really are.

Now, I know that seems to be a big generalization at first, but think about it for a moment. When was the last time a militant gay group hijacked a plane, bombed a church, or generally destroyed property with extreme malice. Perhaps that

is one of the reasons gay people have such a hard time accepting the relatively mild activist stunts of groups like ACT-UP and Queer Nation. We just aren't used to being that aggressive about demanding our rights.

This is not to say our activism has not been effective. I believe we have made enormous strides toward gay and lesbian liberation. In After The Ball (Plume, $10.95), the controversial book by Marshall Kirk and Hunter Madsen, the authors contend that the "gay revolution has failed." They then go about telling us everything we're doing wrong, and naturally, how to go about fixing them. Although their "battle plan" includes a media saturation campaign that would put many a Wall Street yuppie advertising executive to shame with its brilliance, I don't agree with some of their conclusions, especially the value of abandoning support of "fringe" gay groups that present us with difficult and often embarrassing publicity problems. Or of "cleaning up" our gay morality, that is, bringing it more in line with that of which straight people would approve. I doubt, even if we followed the Kirk/Madsen plan, that America would "conquer its fear and hatred of Gays in the 90's."

Why do we constantly seek the approval of straights, when we know it is generally not forthcoming? Why do we "pretend" to be just like them, that is, to hide our sexuality? Why do we have to be so accommodating to their "delicate sensibilities?" They don't like us. They don't want to hear about us. They want us to remain invisible, or at least quiet. How many times have you heard straights say, or even gays say, that we are getting out of hand, out of line, out of control? "Is that all you can talk about, being gay?" Can you imagine telling a straight person, "Is that all you can talk about, being straight?" when they begin droning on about their dating, or marriages, or children, or whatever? These are all the things that are normal to them, which they really don't associate with being straight.

During the gay pride celebrations in New York last year, an anonymous essay was distributed, "I Hate Straights." The controversy this essay generated was unexpectedly heated. True to its title, it was a vicious attack on heterosexuals for their indifference and condescension, an indication that the time and patience of gays is running out.

Of course, we are offended when someone says "I hate fags!" so we don't allow ourselves to say "I hate straights." That's bringing ourselves down to their level, as they say.

Why? Why are we expected to be above hate? Because we are "sensitive?" Because we know better? Because we have experienced being the target of hate so thoroughly and so repeatedly? We have been bullied and don't want to become the bully. Yet our hate is genuine, a reflection of our anger, a hate that has been inspired by being hated.

Acts of terrorism and organized violence by left-wing groups seem to have diminished significantly in this country. Have we grown out of violence as a social protest? Are we so good?

When we do allow ourselves to hate, we most often take it out on ourselves. Domestic violence, drug abuse, and suicide are much higher among gays than in the general population. We seem to be on a concentrated course of destruction. We haven't any place to direct our anger, we can't reach the "enemy," so it is turned in toward ourselves.

We are forever seeking the approval of our parents, even when they have rejected us, or make our lives miserable. Politicians seem beyond accountability, especially to gays and lesbians, and we're not "allowed" to attack the church. I'm not one to incite violence myself, but I don't understand why a few churches haven't burned to the ground at the hands of gays and lesbians. How many times have you heard, or even fantasized yourself, "I'd go take out Helms myself if I had AIDS and only had a few months to live"?

Paralleling our destructive path is a hunger for deliverance, a need to find a way to rid ourselves of our anger and hate. We've developed an internal awareness within our community, a system of checks and balances, from recovery groups to pacifists to activists. We're learning that we cannot enter the territory of our enemies unless we have confronted the accusations internally.

It is difficult to wrestle with a lion when all you have to protect you is a copy of Miss Manners Guide to Excruciatingly Correct Behavior.

And therein lies a difficult problem.

We believe in rules, and the predators don't. It is difficult to wrestle with a lion when all you have to protect you is a copy of Miss Manners Guide to Excruciatingly Correct Behavior. They can accuse us of anything, and then sit back and watch us flounder as we try to defend ourselves, as we check our ethics and our honor code, as we search for some way to back up the truth. They don't have to wrestle with thorny issues like pedophilia, public sexual behavior, or sexually transmitted diseases. They just point their fingers and watch us squirm. Meanwhile, we're processing it. Everyone seems to be a conspirator in their own oppression. Ethnic minorities still suffer terribly from prejudice and racism, yet minority groups can be quite homophobic and sexist. Gays and lesbians participate quite readily in racism and sexism. Men are misogynist and women are misandrous. With all this processing going on, we just don't seem to get it. Homophobia and racism and sexism and misogyny and misandry and classism are all the same thing.

When ACT-UP or Queer Nation "misbehaves," we're dumping some of that anger, some of that hate. It's very healthy, even for those who don't physically participate. The silly antics of bra-burners in the early seventies shocked the traditional women of that time, but symbolically they were very effective. When ACT-UP blocks a bridge or demonstrates at a church, or when Queer Nation does an "evening out" at the airport or at a popular straight bar, it is unlikely that it will make international headlines. But it will have an effect, though some of that effect may not be immediately felt.

This summer, Christian fundamentalists let it be known that they were going to "take back the gates of sin" by demonstrating in Vol-

(Continued next page.)

New Gay Organization Forms in Thurston County

Thomas Mitchell Freeman

Gay men in Thurston County have a new organization through which to meet each other, socialize and have a good time. It's called the "Gay Men's Social Network," (GMSN) and it is an idea that originated with Olympia resident and community educator Curt Pavola.

Many Gay men live in the Olympia area but, until now, they have not had a place to meet, aside from the Evergreen College student organization," said Pavola. "Most Gay men must travel to Tacoma or Seattle to find organized Gay activities."

The literature for GMSN states that the group "exists to promote a sense of community among the sexual minority men in our area...We hope to serve as the connection between Gay (and Bisexual) men who want to make new friends and participate in occasional community recreational events, like potlucks, dances, sports, camping excursions, et cetera."

"I first started thinking about forming such a group when I moved to Olympia in 1986," explains Pavola. "Until now, school and work commitments have kept me from organizing it. Gay men in Thurston County have a number of informal networks that often don't overlap. GMSN will serve as a community-wide central connecting point for Gay and Bisexual men and their friends."

So far, GMSN has sponsored a get-together in association with the Olympia Film Festival to see the film "Longtime Companion." They've also held their first membership meeting on Tuesday, December 18th, at the Olympia Timberland Library. To join the GMSN, send your name and address to: GMSN 2103 Harrison Avenue NW #2-401, Olympia, WA 98502.

"Your ideas and enthusiasm will make GMSN a successful community- building organization," says Pavola. "Above all, we intend to have fun in a supportive atmosphere."

If there was a Mr. Gay Activist Olympia, his name would be Curt Pavola .

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A TIME FOR NEW VOICES:

Renewing the call for Proportional Represenation

Robert Richie

1991 will be a critical year for progressives in the U.S. and Thurston County. With the prospect of war in the Persian Gulf, with our nation on the brink of the deepest recession in 50 years, with ecological catastrophes looming even as environmentalists are in political retreat, and with the Democratic Party heading toward a watershed 1992 election with its leaders floundering in the ideological sands of the gutless center, 1991— for better or worse — may well define our politics for the rest of the decade.

With these pressing issues, it may appear incongruous to argue that we should begin a long-term effort to change how we elect our political representatives. Yet the case for this effort is strong.

Earlier this year, Teresa Jennings and I wrote a series of articles in *Works in Progress* on proportional representation ("PR") electoral systems, versions of which are used in the majority of the world's industrialized democracies. PR describes systems that seek to distribute seats in legislatures in proportion to *all* voters' choices, not simply to candidates winning in single member districts—as we do in our "winner-take-all" method that results in the overhwhelming dominance of our elected offices by well-healed white males.

We argued that PR would have such positive benefits as: increased voter participation (nearly all votes help elect someone); a wider range of choices (systems exist which elect parties or individuals that gain as few as 1% of the vote — others such as Germany stop at 5%, which still can result in a Green Party or a Labor Party); more women and representatives of minority groups gaining office (a quite natural — and statistically supported — consequence of abandoning winner-take-all politics); and more positive and substantive campaigns (with more than two choices, negative campaigns backfire and candidates can win even if taking initially unpopular, but courageous positions).

These arguments can be supported with convincing statistics and historical anecdotes. But first what must be addressed is whether instituting PR is feasible and worth the effort at such a momentous time when many activist are tired of theory and burdened with many commitments.

Feasibility of PR

With respect to feasibility, the remarkable success of the movement to limit legislative terms — evolving rapidly from a fringe cause to gaining the allegiance of our poll-reading president and becoming law (for the moment) in California — shows that the time is ripe for electoral reform. But while term limits and the ill-conceived effort to put None-of the-Above on the ballot (an idea embraced by *The Nation* magazine and Randall Kehler of the nuclear freeze movement) turn an angry electorate's energy merely toward electing new faces, a well-organized PR effort would result in electing desperately needed new voices.

Cincinatti is one of the few places in the United States that already has a strong coalition supporting PR. In 1988, an underfunded initiative to re-institute PR lost by only 9 percentage points. Perhaps most importantly for future PR organizing, the coalition supporting the initiative included two former mayors and such diverse groups as the AFL-CIO Labor Council, N.A.A.C.P., Cincinatti Federation of Teachers, New Jewish Agenda, Rainbow Coalition, U.C. College Democrats, Women's Political Caucus. Baptist Ministers Conference and Common Cause.

Cincinatti's exciting coalition work could be imitated around the country. As the Constitution explicitly gives states the right to decide how to elect its members of Congress (in 1942 New York still elected two members of its congressional delegation with an at-large statewide vote), PR organizing efforts could occur at both a local and state level. Resulting PR coalitions would be the natural predecessor of a third party or at least a well-organized progressive force within the Democratic Party.

The Urgent Need for PR

These possible outgrowths of a PR organizing effort lead to an answer to why such an effort would be worth our time: the urgent and increasingly obvious need for legitimate third parties to check the Democratic and Republican parties, whose pollsters ensure a ever-growing crowd perched on the fence of the political center.

The Persian Gulf crisis provides a tragic example of the breakdown of our two-party system. On August 29, weeks after the Bush administration had deployed troops to the Persian Gulf and thus started the inexorable march to the brink of a disastrous war, a *Seattle Times* story entitled "Bush Given Unanimous Support" stated that "In his first opportunity to brief Congress on the continuing crisis in the Persian Gulf, President Bush emerged with clear backing from both parties." In fact, despite a solid block of voters opposing the initial deployment, it took months, an election to be safely past and a doubling of U.S. forces in the region before some Democrats tepidly broke ranks with the administration.

We only have to look at the savings-and-loan catastrophe, inadequate responses to the deterioration of our environment and the ballooning federal budget deficit to see that this failure of our political process to head off disaster is hardly unique.

A third party — a party that could gain votes and seats without progressive voters fearing that supporting it only would hurt Democrats and elect Republicans — could check our dangerous centrist politics.

A third party — a party that could gain votes and seats without progressive voters fearing that supporting it only would hurt Democrats and elect Republicans — could check our dangerous centrist politics. But in today's world of sophisticated polling and money-dominated politics, we simply will not have this party without a PR system.

Thurston County

Living in the state capitol, we have a unique opportunity to influence state politics with local organizing. Two places where we easily could work to institute PR are the City of Olympia (which provides citizens with initiative rights) and The Evergreen State College, which already is struggling with the difficult question of how best to represent minority constituencies in student government. We also can explore using different forms of PR to elect officials in our union locals and other organizations.

Difficult journeys begin with strong first steps. For more information on PR and how to help local PR organizing efforts, call Rob Richie at 459-5590 or Teresa Jennings at 456-0451.

Rob Richie is a local political activist who has researched electoral systems, in particular systems of proportional representation.

(Good Gays, continued.)

unteer Park in Seattle. Gay activists gathered their energy and resources and produced an astounding reaction of over 350 counter-protesters on a beautiful Friday afternoon. The true surprise, however, was that the Christian multitude consisted only of about 80 teenagers and a handful of adults on a picnic retreat for witnessing and music. We had been hornswaggled by manipulative fundamentalists using gays as a target for publicity reasons. We swept down on our "oppressors" nonetheless, overtaking the stage, silencing the sound system, and surrounding a group of teens that had formed a prayer circle, tormenting them with chants, jeers and our physical presence.

After all was done, there was much more to be said. Some felt terribly guilty that we had "abused" these teens with our three-hour tirade, that we had attacked poor, innocent kids, that our anger was misplaced. Many seemed upset that we had crossed the line, that we had misbehaved.

So what. Weren't these the same type of kids who tormented you for being "different" in your school years, when being called a "faggot" or a "dyke" was terrifying to you? Wouldn't you like to dump some of that resentment and anger from way back? Aren't these "good Christian boys and girls" the gay-bashing college idiots of tomorrow?

Sometimes misbehaving will be dangerous, sometimes people will get hurt, but it may very likely be worth it. Ask anyone who has been in a full scale demonstration. Ask them not what they accomplished, or who they embarrassed. Ask them how they felt.

Sometimes it feels real good to be bad. Have a happy holiday, and try not to be too good.

Ron Whiteaker is owner of Beyond The Closet Bookstore in Seattle, and is editor and publisher of The Northwest Gay and Lesbian Reader, in which this editorial was originally published in November of 1990.

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Rally Reveals RootsBehindWar

Greg Bye

On December 8, 1990, a spirited crowd of 500 people gathered in Sylvester Park for a rally and march calling for a peaceful resolution of the current crisis in the Middle East. After the march, a hundred or so protestors attended a teach-in on the situation at the 1st Christian Church.

At the rally several speakers wondered aloud about the demise of the peace dividend the U.S. government had promised to the American people after the end of the cold war. We were told that revenue would be diverted from military spending, and into pressing needs like low-income housing, job programs, health care, and education. Speaker after speaker reminded us that, so far, that has not been the case. Instead, since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the U.S. military has invaded Panama and sent close to half a million troops to the Saudi Arabian desert to fight a war with Iraq.

Local activist Anna Schlecht encouraged the crowd to join in solidarity with all oppressed people, and noted that December 8 was the anniversary of the Intifada. Evergreen student and former marine Hugh Moag called for massive resistance to Bush's war effort by people on active duty and in the reserves, and those who are of draft age. Hugh also reminded the crowd that it was not the soldiers who are to blame, but the system which forces people to join the military or starve.

The march through Olympia was spirited as marchers shouted known chants and ones created on the spot. There was much support for the march from onlookers -- both shoppers and people waiting for the march to pass in their vehicles. In what marchers took to be a growing sense of doubt over the Bush administration's war policy, leaflets were taken and read by most everyone who was offered one.

The teach-in featured Evergreen faculty member Peter Bohmer, Hugh Moag, and American Postal Workers local president Clint Burleson. According to Bohmer, the roots of the present crisis can be found in the economic planning blueprints of the multinational corporations. These corporations, Bohmer stated, consider the natural resources of the world to be "their natural resources". To add to this, the interests of the multinationals are also the interests of the U.S. government. The government's role in this design is to provide military protection for the corporations when thier interests are "threatened". As a prime example of this mode of thought, Peter cited Jimmy Carter's 1980 state of the union address, where he promised that any threat to the flow of oil by hostile interests would be "repelled by force".

Moag talked about why most people join the military. It is not for the chance to kill, but is usually the best option for these citizens to provide a decent life for themselves and their families. As an example, Hugh said his best friend decided to stay in the Marines rather than go to college. By re-enlisting, Hugh's friend ensured that his family had decent housing, a steady income, medical care, and quality education for his child. An interesting side note to this is that this is exactly what the ill-fated "peace dividend" would have provided.

Clint Burleson discussed the present state of organized labor, both in their traditional role of organizing workers and their relationship with progressive movements. He told the teach-in audience that, since the late 1940s, there has been a tacit agreement between labor and management that unions would only bargain for wages, benefits, and working conditions. This agreement leaves investment decisions solely in the hands of management and served to depoliticize the formerly highly political North American unions. Clint put forth the idea that the reasons for the limited success of the movements of the 1960s was because of the lack of massive labor support. In order for effective change on all fronts, then, Burleson called for the transformation of the unions into politically active organizations. One suggestion for such a change, he continued, is for union locals to assume more of a leadership role both locally and nationally, as well as expanding their areas of involvement to include issues not directly related to workers' jobs. □

photo by Dave Link

The government's role in this design is to provide military protection for the corporations when their interests are "threatened".

Reservists for Peace Resist Call for War

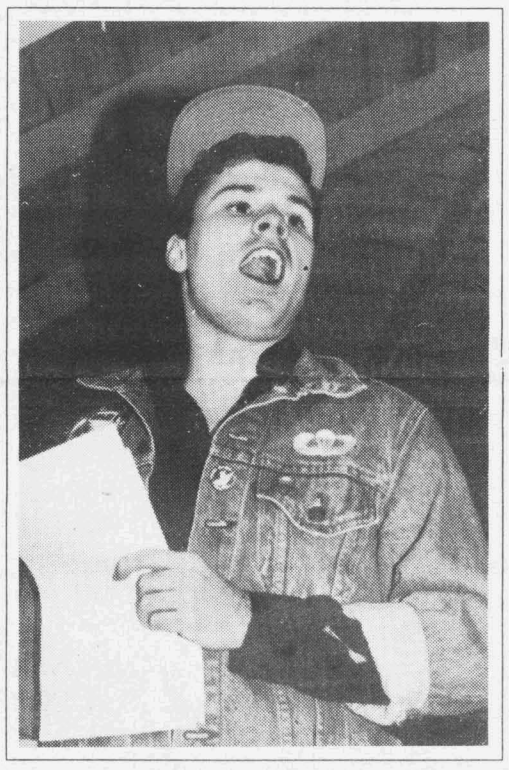
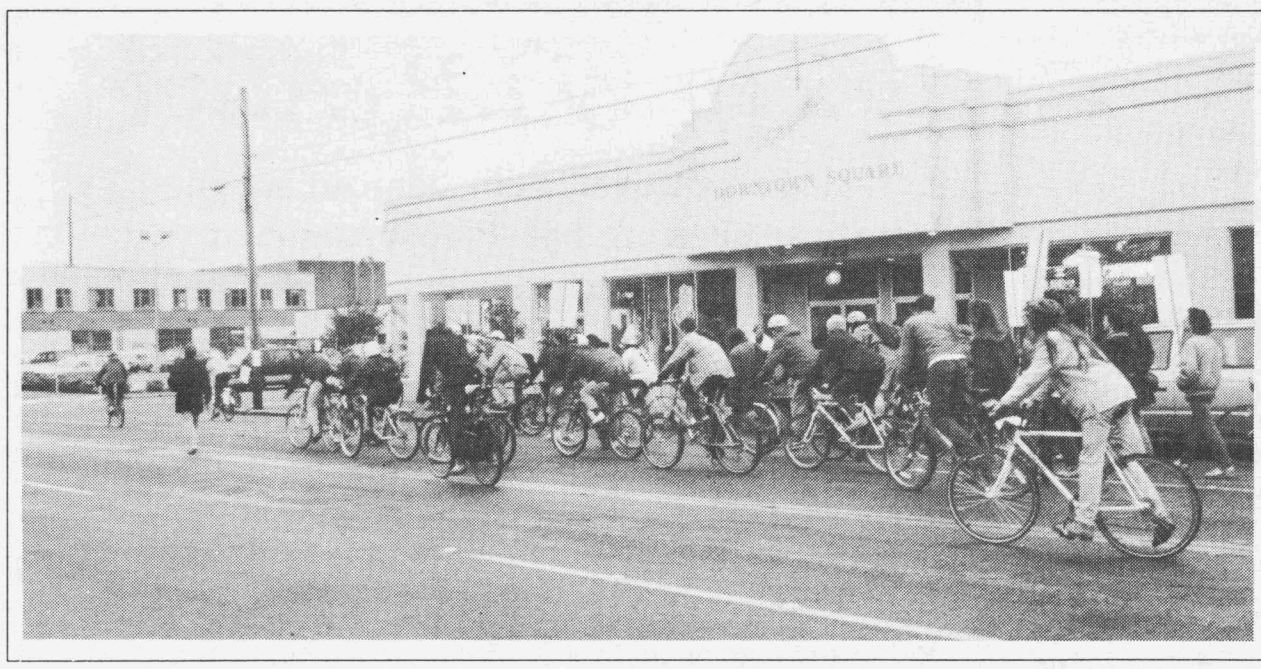


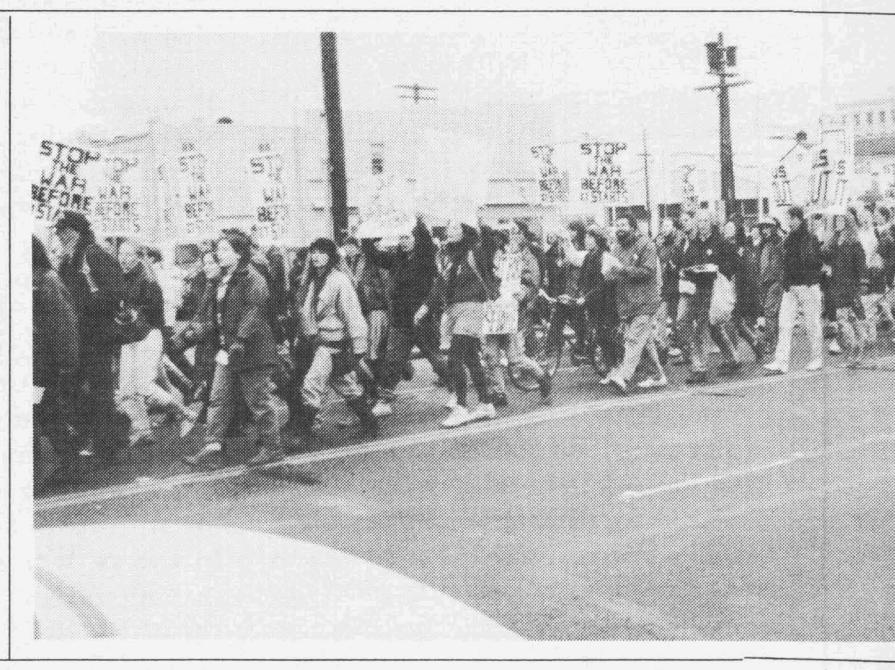
photo by Chris Jordan

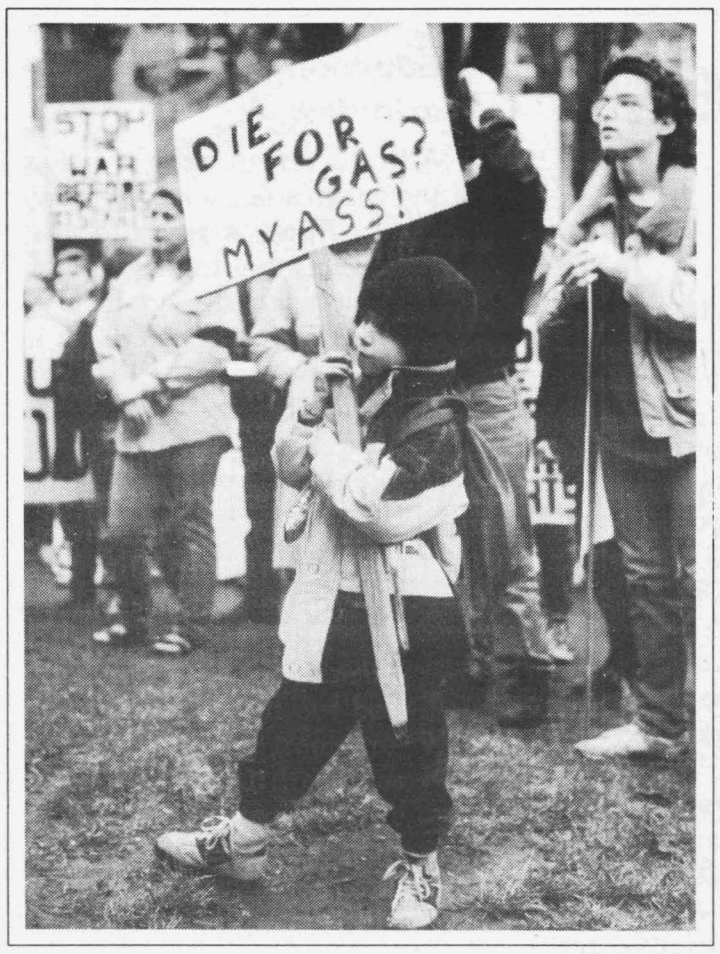
Hugh Moag

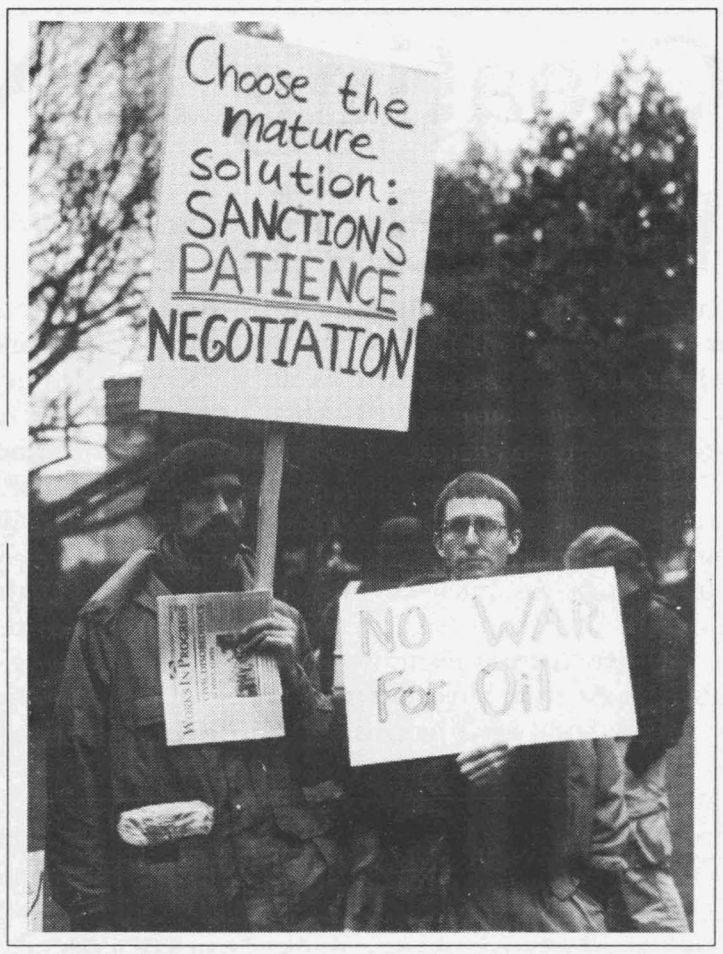
The following is a speech which was given at the December 8th peace rally in Sylvester Park.

As some of you already know I spent four years in the Marines before I came to The Evergreen State College. I have a few things to say to George Bush. Read my lips George! I refuse to fight a war for oil in the Middle East! I also refuse to fight in your racist and









photos by Chris Jordon

classist war on drugs - a war that seeks to incarcerate the victim rather than cure the disease. If you want a war that I will fight in, let's attack the naked aggression of racism, sexism and homophobia in America. If you want a war that I will enlist in, let's convene Congress and declare war on poverty and homelessness. Let's declare a war to fight violence against women. Let's declare a war on our nation's abysmal infant mortality rate and lack of adequate medical care for all but the wealthy.

I'm here today with a troubled heart. This morning one of my best friends at Evergreen left; not because he doesn't want to be here; not because he is not intelligent enough to be here; not because it's the holiday season and school's out so he can go home to his family. He left because he serves in the reserves and George Bush has decided his life is less valuable than words like "oil". He must leave the peace of home because George has decided to send our armies overseas to make the world safe for feudal monarchy. Some would claim that my friend must be a warmonger to enlist, so why should the peace movement worry? But those of us who are his friends know this to be wrong. He must go because he does not have the money to be in college without the G.I. bill. Not having enough money for an education should not be a death sentence in our society.

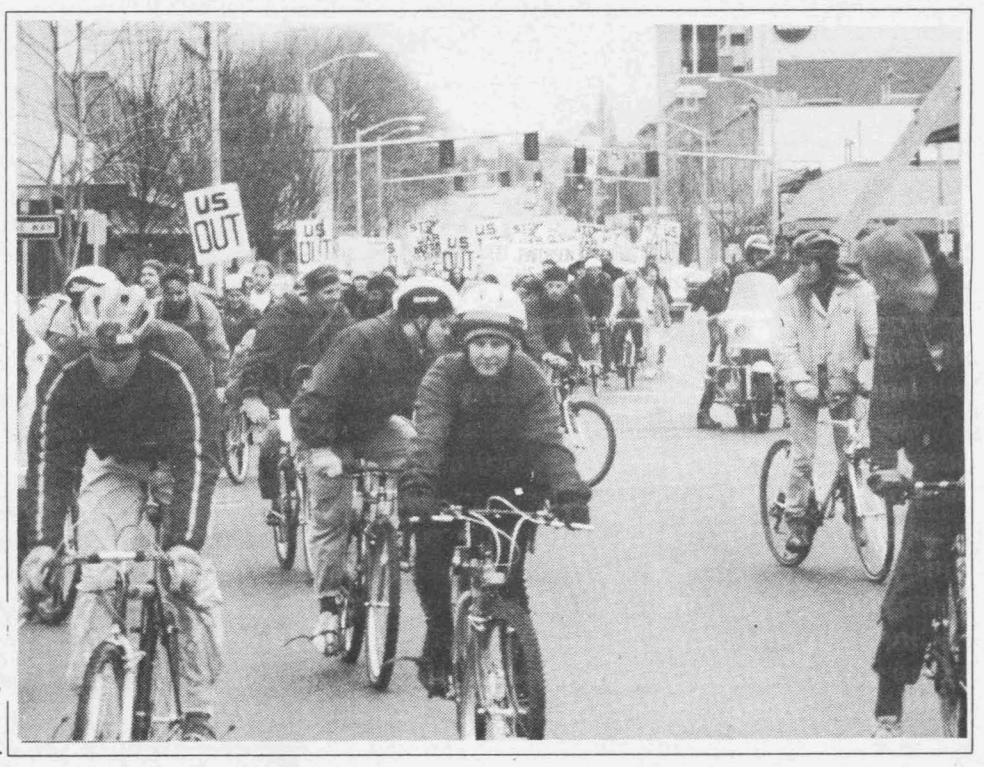
People from all walks of life see the blatant hypocrisy of the man who just invaded Panama while condemning "naked aggression." People see the hypocrisy in saying we have no money to spend on education but we have 600 million a day for "Operation Desert Shield."

We must act now! We must explain to our friends and neighbors who aren't here today the urgency of the moment. As we speak, the Congress that just two weeks ago was silent, is beginning to feel the hot breath of millions of voters screaming, "I WANT PEACE NOW!"

People from all walks of life see the blatant hypocrisy of the man who just invaded Panama while condemning "naked aggression." People see the hypocrisy in saying we have no money to spend on education but we have 600 million a day for "Operation Desert Shield." People see the hypocrisy in making the taxpayers pay the Soviets a $1,000,000,000 bribe at a time when we are cutting back on financial aid, Medicare, and toxic waste cleanup funds. People see the hypocrisy of sitting at a table with the men who ordered the massacre of students at Tiananmen Square and refusing to sit at the table with Saddam Hussein.

We must inform our elected representatives that we will not allow this hypocrisy to continue. Let's band together - here and now - and promise to fight to end this war, before our generation is the next to be sacrificed on the alters of hypocrisy. January 15th will be too late for hundreds of thousands of our fellow human beings.

If we do not succeed before January 15th, if our president insists on disregarding the overwhelming majority of Americans, if our president continues on his quest of risking global destruction rather than risking an economy based on peace, than we must redouble our efforts. We must take to the streets to protest the death for dollars mentality of the present administration.



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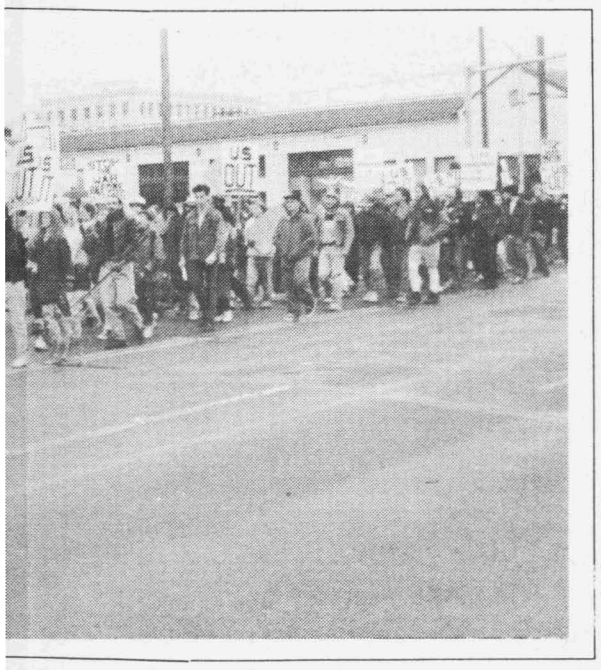
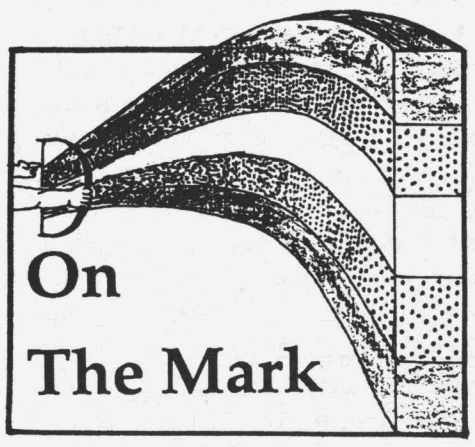


photos by Dave Link

We must use any means necessary to stop the insanity of a war fought by the poor for the rich. However, as we start on this path towards peace, we must learn from the lessons of the Vietnam peace movement. We must learn from the trials and tribulations of the Vietnam veteran. When our brothers and sisters return home from war, disillusioned and confused, we cannot as a society - committed to peace - forget who the victim truly is in a war. The victim is the man or woman who did not have the money or the education to avoid the life and death struggle of the battlefield. That victim is not Dan Quayle or his son; that victim is not John Sununu's or Dick Cheney's sons. The victim will be a young man from Harlem, a young woman from a farm in Arkansas, and more than one unemployed logger from Washington. Poverty, poor public education and unemployment cannot be allowed to be a death sentence in our society. Our wrath must be directed at the officials that created the policy rather than the young men or women who were forced to carry it out. We as a society committed to peace cannot treat Middle East vets like we treated Vietnam vets. The price in human pain and suffering among our brothers and sisters is simply too high.

Martin Luther King had a dream. He once asked, "What if our best trained, most educated troops refused to fight?" Well that dream has in part been realized today as we celebrate the release of Jeff Paterson. Men and women in uniform, led by the example of people like Jeff Paterson and Evergreen's own Wil Depusoy, are standing up and taking the heroic step of saying "NO! I do not believe in this war." We must support the G.I. resistance movement. Five New York reservists have refused to go, 250 marines at Camp Pendleton said "no way". There are 19 conscientious objector seekers in Germany alone, and a C.O. hotline in Germany is receiving over 20 calls a day. A marine reservists from Gonzaga University spoke at a rally with Will and I in Seattle Last Saturday. He said he will go to jail before he kills another human being. We must remember the risk they have taken. We must support them now with letters and phone calls to our congresspeople. They must know that we, as Americans, demand the right for our citizens in the military to object to any war on the basis of - not only their moral and ethical beliefs - but their political beliefs as well. And if, as I sincerely hope, the peace movement is successful in averting a war in the Middle East, then we must not forget these heros of peace. We cannot allow the military to make an example of them in an attempt to frighten the next generation of soldiers. ☐

Hugh Moag is a student at The Evergreen State College and peace activist.



Creating A New Worldview

Dave Jette

As we are all aware, profound political and economic changes have recently been occurring in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, constituting a clear rejection of the "classical Marxism" which has heretofore completely dominated those societies. In the West, activists who have sought to follow the "scientific socialism" expounded by the Soviet ruling class, in order to bring about the truly liberated society envisioned by Marx and Engels, have suddenly had their illusions shattered. For many of them, their worldview has been destroyed.

. . . Social activists have seized upon Marxism, often treating it dogmatically as revealed truth rather than as the necessary starting point . . .

But what is a worldview, and why is it important to hold a correct one? A worldview explains for us how all our activities in life fit together, how they influence each other, how human society has developed over the centuries, what the possibilities for the future are. If we are to be successful in transforming our own society into one serving the needs of the great majority of our people, rather than those of a relatively small economic elite, we have got to have a clear idea of how various struggles are interrelated, what their possible longterm outcome may be. In short, we have got, collectively, to develop a scientific understanding of the evolution of human society.

On the other hand, integral to the depoliticization of people in the U.S. is the fostering of an attitude of indifference to such questions of philosophy. We learn to concentrate upon our immediate concerns and not worry about the big picture, how things all fit together - indeed, such theoretical questions, we are taught, are so abstract as not to be within the grasp of, or relevant to, ordinary people like ourselves. Correctly or not, Marxist theory offers a complete worldview which explains what's going on, which seeks to arm us in our quest for liberation. In the intellectual vacuum in which we find ourselves, it is no surprise that social activists have seized upon Marxism, often treating it dogmatically as revealed truth rather than as the necessary starting point for a science of society which they themselves must continually enrich.

In light of current events it may be easy to reject the Soviet version of Marxism, but it is far more difficult to construct an alternate, theoretically consistent worldview well reflecting reality. This is the challenge taken up by the book *Liberating Theory*, by Michael Albert, Leslie Cagan, Noam Chomsky, Robin Hahnel, Mel King, Lydia Sargent, and Holly Sklar (South End Press, 1986). In last month's column we looked at some basic political criticisms of Marxism which this book has, concerning the domination of the "coordinator class". We continue by looking at the alternate worldview which *Liberating Theory* proposes.

The Four Spheres of Human Activity

Liberating Theory identifies four primary spheres of human activity: the community, kinship, economic, and political spheres. It is useful to describe in some detail what these four spheres actually are, although the book itself should be read to gain the richness of its analysis.

As defined by *Liberating Theory*, communities are groups of people who share a common sense of historical identity or heritage, usually derived from a common culture, language, or lifestyle developed while the original members of the community lived in geographical proximity. For example, in the U.S. we have numerous Native American nations, as well as African-American, Latino, and Asian-American racial communities (among others). It is even meaningful to define cultural communities such as WASP's, Yuppies, Catholics, Jews, Muslims, etc. The community sphere focuses upon language, art, ritual, and intercommunity relations.

The kinship sphere significantly determines interactions among men, women, and children as such. "Kinship activity revolves around sexuality, procreation, child rearing, socialization, maturation, and aging", so that this concept "focuses on the human life cycle and interpersonal relations."

> The resulting kin relations not only define sexual norms, but also how children are socialized to become adult lovers, mothers, fathers, wives, husbands, uncles, aunts and so on. The kinship sphere thus sets role requirements for participation in sexual interaction and socialization and also divides people into important gender groups, just as economic relations divide people into classes.

Liberating Theory defines a wide scope for the "economic sphere":

> Economics certainly involves the production, consumption, and allocation of material objects and activists need to understand how the transformation of "raw materials" and "intermediate" and "final" products and distribution of those products affect material incomes. But economics also affects people as they engage in different kinds of economic activities. Our personalities, skills, consciousness, and relations with others form and transform as we repeatedly engage in economic activities.

. . . it may be easy to reject the Soviet version of Marxism, but it is far more difficult to construct an alternate, theoretically consistent worldview reflecting reality.

Finally, we have the "political sphere":

> Politics involves the creation of ideology; the setting of societal priorities, policies, laws and regulations; and the conferring of power, whether with or without majority participation and ratification. The political sphere includes the State with its military, judiciary, police, legislature, and public works; political parties; lobbying and public interest organizations, etc. Depending on the specific character of the political sphere, people may be hierarchically arrayed by electoral or appointed office, bureaucratic tenure, military rank, party position, or unofficial "backroom" influence, as well as by economic, gender, and cultural factors rooted in other spheres.

Production of a Worldview

With the foregoing delineation of the spheres of human activity, *Liberating Theory* is ready to produce a conceptual framework for understanding the development of society, i.e. a worldview which it terms complementary holism. The essence of this worldview is that the four spheres are neither independent of each other nor each completely dependent upon a particular sphere, but rather are interdependent among themselves in a symmetric way.

At the philosophical level, the book's basic criticism of Marxism is its monism, that Marxism considers the economic sphere to determine everything else going on in society. Similarly, *Liberating Theory* rejects the monism of proponents of the dominance of each of the other spheres (cultural nationalists, radical feminists, and anarchists, respectively). In place of a monist base/superstructure conception of society, and of a pluralist conception which treats the spheres as acting basically independently of each other, complementary holism stresses the interdependence of the four spheres, going into great and useful detail about how aspects of each sphere interact integrally with those of the other spheres.

A good example of the worldview advanced by *Liberating Theory* is its identification of the four core characteristics of U.S. society:

> In our own study of the United States we have come to believe that here, although many types of non-liberatory revolutionary change can conceivably occur, intricate co-reproducing relations constrain liberatory options so severely that relatively few are feasible. We believe the oppressive core characteristics of the United States - racism, sexism, classism [domination by an exploiting economic class], and authoritarianism - are now so mutually reproductive of one another that, to eliminate any one, all will have to be overcome. Institutional and consciousness relations have become so entwined that each of our society's four core characteristics now reproduce within every sphere instead of only within the sphere of their origin.

I hope everyone will get ahold of this book and read it carefully, for it is invaluable in identifying fundamental questions facing us as we

(Continued next page)

Belcher Peace Rally

Thursday, January 10
Capitol Steps, 5:30 p.m.
Bring candles
Keynote speaker: Archbishop Hunthausen

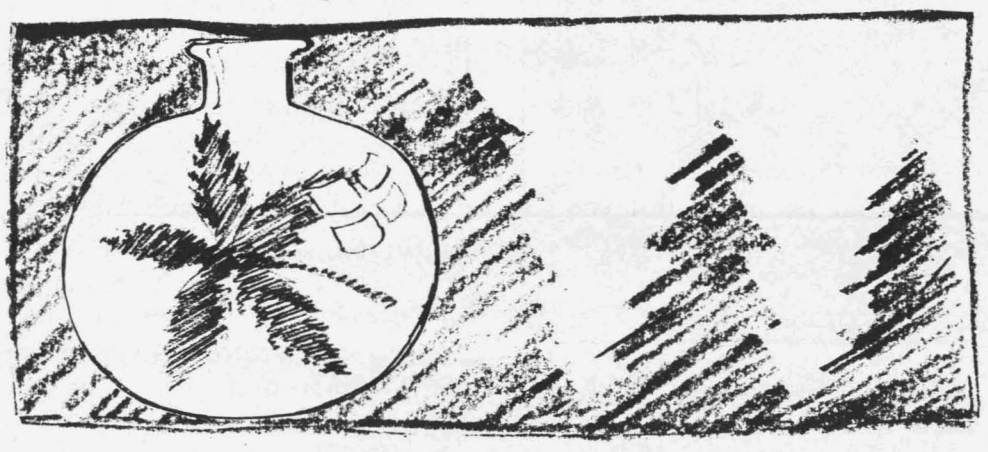
Destruction of World's Forests Creating Unstable Global Climate

Lynn Osburn

The forests of the world are disappearing at an alarming rate; cut down to make everything from houses to toilet paper, or simply burned out to make more pasture or farmland. This thoughtless and wanton destruction of the world forests is causing changes in the climatic cycle that may permanently alter the ecosystem as we know it.

The mechanisms controlling climatic balance are incredibly complex. Science can only speculate on how much environmental damage it will take to cause the climatic cycle to become irreversibly destabilized. Scientists disagree on the pathways an unstable global climate will take, but the end result could be an earth similar to Venus-air hotter than an oven, containing sulfur acids strong enough to dissolve steel in a matter of hours.

The scientific debate has given rise to the controversial "greenhouse



effect" theory. The greenhouse effect theory is rooted in the functioning of the global carbon dioxide cycle. The carbon dioxide (CO_2) cycle is a complex system with a multitude of interactive variables, but it can be reduced to a simple relationship: the plants of the world absorb CO_2 from the air and during photosynthesis convert it into carbohydrates and cell structure; the people of the world burn fresh and fossilized plant cell structures releasing CO_2 back into the air. Plant cell structure is called biomass.

Humanity is burning fossilized biomass to power civilization. Fossilized biomass fuels are coal, petroleum oils and natural gas. Burning them dumps more CO_2 into the atmosphere than plant life can absorb because fossil fuels are no longer a part of the living CO_2 cycle. Fossil fuels contain the accumulated carbon removed by decaying plant life from the CO_2 cycle and climate system that existed over 160 million years ago when the earth was wetter and greener than today. When burned the ancestral carbon in fossil fuels injects a CO_2 overdose into the air that the sparser plant life in this more arid eon cannot recycle.

Our air is becoming saturated. Carbon dioxide traps in solar heat that warms the earth surface. The excess heat is normally reflected through the atmosphere back into space. The amount of solar heat held in the atmosphere is proportional to the concentration of greenhouse gasses in the air. Carbon dioxide is not the only greenhouse gas, but it is the most abundant one -- the one causing the most trouble.

The only way to stop the CO_2 build -up in the atmosphere is to cease burning fossil fuels. This will also reduce levels of another greenhouse gas, methane. The most effective way to remedy the excess accumulation of CO_2 is to plant more trees.

Trees live and grow for centuries. Every year a tree grows it pulls more CO_2 out of the air and converts it into wood. The excess CO_2 already present in the atmosphere from burning fossil fuels can be removed naturally by allowing trees to convert it to wood, but it will take time to accomplish -- and lots of trees.

World energy production developed using biomass as the prime raw material. The chemical engineering processes that convert crude fossil fuel biomass into refined fuels will also convert fresh biomass into refined fuels. In fact, the chief processes, destructive distillation and fractional distillation, were originally employed to convert wood into industrial fuels. Wood was replaced by crude fossil fuel resources early on in the industrial revolution because large deposits of coal and oil lowered the cost of production. Now with dwindling global petroleum reserves, the cost of fossil fuels will continue to rise.

. . . we desperately need our forests to filter the atmosphere clean of excess CO_2 before a runaway greehouse effect turns Earth into another Venus .

World energy production must return to using fresh biomass as the raw material for all fuels currently made from fossil biomass. Fresh biomass is part of the living CO_2 cycle. When plants are harvested then converted into fuels and burned for energy, the CO_2 produced as the end product of combustion will be absorbed by the next year' s biomass energy crop during its growth -- provided the energy crop is an annual plant. Burning fresh biomass energy crops will not unbalance the CO_2 cycle.

Tree farming is called sylva-culture. Government reports estimate that one ton per acre per year can be harvested from forests using advanced sylva-culture techniques. This volume is dismally low and at best will barely keep up with the demand for board lumber. Sylvaculture should be implemented in hardwood forests to maintain sustainable lumber yields for construction purposes: a new tree must be planted for every one harvested and no clear-cutting.

About seventy-five years ago two far sighted USDA scientists realized that at the rate American forests were being cut down to meet the demands for paper products, our forests would become seriously depleted in the near future. That future is now.

In 1916 the scientists published the results of their pulp paper making tests using agricultural wastes from the hemp fiber industry. They found hemp hurds, the cellulose rich material usually burned in the fields after the fiber was removed from the hemp stalks, made better paper than wood pulp, with less chemical additives, and hemp produced more than four times as much biomass per acre than trees.

They had done their jobs well and moved on to other work fully expecting the paper industry to gradually switch from forest wood pulp to using farm-grown hemp. However, hemp was hysterically condemned as marijuana and outlawed twenty years later just as the heavy machinery was going on the line to make mass harvesting and separation of the hemp fiber from the pulp economically competitive.

Today we desperately need our forests to filter the atmosphere clean of excess CO_2 before a runaway greenhouse effect turns Earth into another Venus . At the same time we have to stop burning fossil fuels and encourage farmers to grow biomass crops on energy farms to replace fossil fuels so no more excess CO_2 is unleashed into the already overburdened air.

Just six percent of the contiguous United States devoted to energy farming will supply all of our energy currently provided by petroleum. Hemp is the best energy crop candidate for America. Hemp grows well in all fifty states. Hemp is a hardy plant that can be grown for energy on less productive land, so valuable food crop land need not be sacrificed to energy farming. Hemp is the only plant capable of becoming the national energy resource standard.

For more information about hemp in the environment and the economy send five dollars to: Access Unlimited, P.O. Box 1900, Frazier Park, Ca. 93225

(Worldview, cont.)

work toward building a decent society. "Complementary holism" is presented by *Liberating Theory* as an alternate worldview to that of Marxism, and next month we shall have a look at the strengths and weaknesses of the Marxist worldview.

Dave is a member of the National Coalition for Independent Political Action and is a regular columnist for Works In Progress.

Thurston County Rainbow Coalition

General Membership Meeting

Saturday, January 19th, 12:30 pm

First Christian Church
Seventh & Franklin, Olympia

Todd Snider, Coordinator
352-1877

Membership Form

Thurston County Rainbow Coalition

A local, multi-issue, progressive, grassroots organzation and publisher of *Works In Progress* . We believe in giving power to the "readers" not the "leaders"!

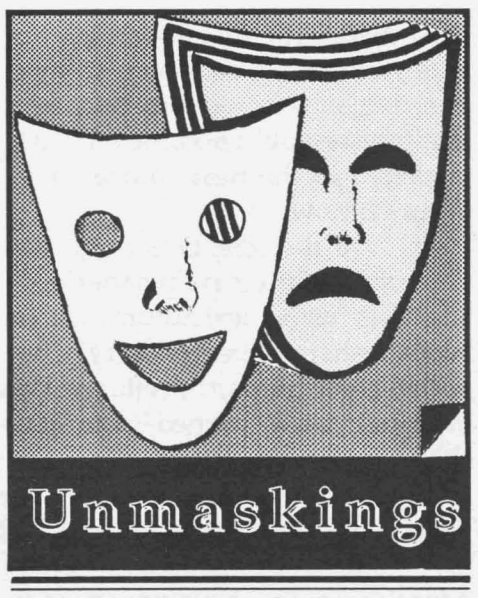
Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____ **Zip:** ____ **Phone:** _____

☐ **One Year - $25** ☐ **Low Income - 0 - $10**

Thurston County Rainbow Coalition, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98506



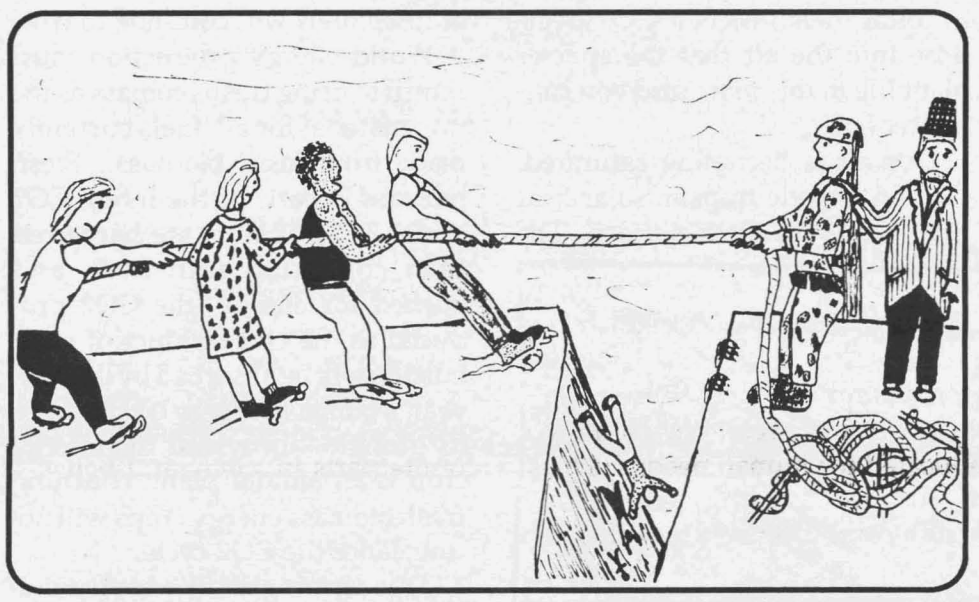
The War, The Workers, And The 1990's

Ron Jacobs

In a recent conversation with a member of the WIP editorial staff, the role of the working class in the social justice movements of the 1990s arose. The movements against war and racism, and for worker's rights and social justice seem, more than any other time in recent history, decidedly linked. Part of the reason for this is simply that many of the participants in the 60's social movements brought their sense of justice with them when they joined the workforce. A greater reason, however, for this re-establishment of the connections is the abuse of workers which occurred without subterfuge or apology during the Reagan years. From the mass firing of the PATCO strikers in 1981 to the robber baron buyouts and subsequent union busting by Eastern Airlines' Lorenzo and Greyhound's Curry in the late 1980s and 1990, the myth that U.S. corporate capitalism honestly cared about its workers was ripped apart. In addition, the nonstop haggling over increasing the minimum wage from 1980 to 1988 prove the lack of concern for working people by the ruling elites of this country.

During the 1950s and 60s, many U.S. workers benefitted greatly from the rapid growth of the economy, particularily in the defense related industries. Because of the material gains they reaped, most workers supported, at least tacitly, their union leaders promotion of the U.S. corporate and governmental agenda in Vietnam, the American ghettoes, and elsewhere throughout the world. Much of this support originated from the worker's perception of themselves not as producers of goods, but as consumers. Anything which threatened the continued enjoyment of America's material wealth (especially non-electoral politics) was automatically suspect and, therefore, against the worker/consumers' interest. Of course, those interests were largely defined by the corporate marketplace and its Madison Avenue hucksters. Such an identification created a dynamic whereby the alienation of the workplace extended into the home. In reaction to that alienation, the worker identified him/herself through what s/he bought, be it a type of car or a style of clothing or music.

The reduction of workers buying power in the late 1970s and the 1980s is beginning to change this picture. By reducing the average workers spending power while increasing that of management through concessions and globalization of industry, corporate attempts which had previously convinced working people that they shared a common culture with management began to fall apart. Important to this awareness was the growing perception among white-collar workers that their so-called differences with blue collar workers were, when times got tight, much less than their differences with upper-level management. For example, the recent announcement in Washington State that up to 6,000 state employees might be laid-off has provoked great concern among those office workers affected. In addition, among those whom I know, the realization that they will have to fight for their job has created a deeper consciousness of themselves as working people than before.



In order for a coalition among issue oriented social movements and workers groups to take place, a further realization by white and blue collar workers alike must occur -- that the unemployed are not competitors, but allies. I write this with a New York Times article describing Daily News managerial attempts to get homeless people to sell the scab edition of the Daily News in mind. Such a cynical manipulation of an individual's impoverishment serves only to maintain the existing system. It is a system which sees neither the unemployed or the employed worker as anything more than another piece of machinery. No matter what one's particular skill might be, if the choice is between worker layoffs, and executive pay cuts, guess which will occur first.

Military intervention protects the lifestyles of the rich, not of the workers and the poor, here or anywhere else in the world.

In addition to a re-definition of U.S. workers as producers, a further awareness of themselves as part of an international working class is unavoidable and necessary if any broad social justice coalition and change is to happen. To do otherwise is to deny the reality of the globalization of industry and capital. Recent statements by Baker and Bush telling U.S. workers that military intervention is necessary in the Middle East are not only an insult to our humanity, they also graphically illustrate the fact of global corporatism. It is the multinationals and their international banking partners who are taking away jobs in the United States, not the Saddam Husseins of the world. In addition to the inhumane cynicism of such statements, the implied racism that "American" jobs are more valuable than Arab lives represents a mindset similar to one which rationalized Auschwitz as cost-effective. The same system which sends an army overwhelmingly comprised of working class whites and people of color to fight its war has, in the past 20 or so years, moved its profiteering operations overseas in part to exploit the existence of dirt cheap labor. That process, at the same time, impoverished the inner cities and rural regions of the U.S., while enslaving millions overseas who are willing to work no matter what the cost to their social and physical lives.

The fight for decent wages and local control by people in the third world nations means better wages and working conditions here. The fight against corporate war assists local struggles for self determination throughout the world and, at the same time, helps us see that the corporate government perception of us is as mere tools in their quest for continued world domination -- whether through war or economic "investment". Military intervention protects the lifestyles of the rich, not of the workers and the poor, here or anywhere else in the world. Another major aid to corporate control is the perpetuation of racism. Although the civil rights legislation of the sixties opened the workplace to non-white workers more than ever before, the built-in racism of the economic and social system (exemplified by the aforementioned flight of factories from the inner-city and their replacement with low-paying service jobs and the drug trade), as well as the legal and legislative onslaught on the civil rights reforms of the sixties, has pushed the ugly spectre of racism to the fore of U.S. culture

Until we link the fight for non-sexist, decent and equal opportunities for all races and ethnic groups with the fight for workers rights, those in control will manipulate our movement against us.

(Continued next page)

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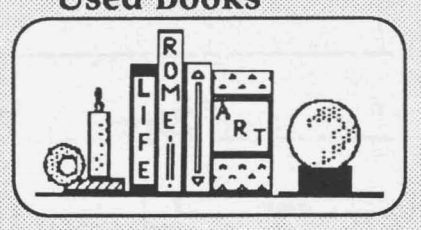

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Works In Progress Submission Deadline January 15, 1991

(The War, continued)

once again. Indeed, what is taking place in the non-white communities of the U.S. is the graphic reproduction and reinforcement of a political and economic relationship similar to that between the U.S. corporate state and countries like El Salvador and the Phillipines.

As long as white workers in the U.S. blame people of color for the loss of job availability, the jobs they do get will continue to be lower paying than they should be. The role of racism in dividing the U.S. working class is well documented and has countless times been the cause for the failure of the workers' movement in this country to effect a worker oriented base of power. The persistence of sexist assumptions and attitudes upholds a similar inequality in the workplace also, albeit in different ways. Until we link the fight for non-sexist, decent and equal opportunities for all races and ethnic groups with the fight for workers rights, those in control will manipulate our movement against us.

Signs of hope do exist. The Postal Workers' Union recently adopted a resolution at their 1990 convention supporting a boycott of El Salvadoran coffee urged by the popular organizations in El Salvador. In addition, the longshoreman's union on the west coast of the U.S. and Canada (ILWU) refuses to unload containers carrying coffee beans from Salvador. Many union locals and individual union members are challenging AFL-CIO leader Kirkland's support of the U.S. military policy in the Persian Gulf and have expressed their opposition at rallies and at their own conventions and conferences. The strikes against Greyhound, Pittston Coal, and The Daily News garnered broad-based support from other unions and progressive national and community groups. Although Jesse Jackson no longer attempts to speak the language of the progressive elements of the voting public, local Rainbow Coalition groups remain antiwar, anti-racist, anti-sexist, and pro-worker in their outlook.

The reluctance of Jackson to vocalize the hopes of the progressive community in an electoral forum reflect both Jackson's rightward turn and the shortcomings of a primarily electoral focus in the corporate United States. Despite massive support for Jesse in 1984 and 1988 by progressives -- both in labor and otherwise -- the refusal of the mainstream party to grant any real power to the movement confirms the sentiment that voting is the least powerful of any of our tools. A movement ready to go beyond the polls to the streets, and refuse to conduct business as usual will not only illustrate the power we potentially have, it could very well inspire those millions of us who have grown cynical and just given up.

Ron Jacobs is a member of the Olympia Anti-Intervention Coalition and the Central American Action Coalition and is a regular columnist for Works In Progress.

Black Soldiers Victimized By U.S. War Machine

Corporal Tahan K. Jones

I, Corporal Tahan K. Jones, have declared my opposition to war by filing a conscientious objector claim with the United States Marine Corps. I believe that military solutions should not be utilized to solve international problems and crises. War is a tremendous waste of resources, human lives, and money that should be used to solve our fiscal and economic crises at home. I cannot be a part of an institution that sacrifices the lives of young men and women for cheap oil. Blood is still more precious than oil. I believe that it is totally immoral and senseless to squander resources that should be allocated for human needs such as affordable housing, education, health care, jobs and economic development and waste these resources for organized mass violence.

I came to the conviction of conscientious objection after examining the Vietnam War, the invasions of Grenada and Panama and reflecting on the war and military experiences of veterans. From my perspective as an African-American male, Black soldiers have been used as cannon fodder as part of United States foreign policy that relies on military aggression. Black soldiers died in disproportionate numbers in Vietnam. While Black soldiers have given their lives, limbs, and sanity on foreign soil, Black people at home are victimized by police brutality, disproportionate unemployment, high infant mortality, lack of decent and affordable housing, decreasing life expectancy, escalating incarceration rates, high drop out rates, and AIDS. The money that is being spent for war and destruction could be better spent to improve the quality of life for African-Americans and the majority of the people in this country. If a shooting war breaks out in the Middle East, African-American women will come home in body bags in disproportionate numbers as did their male counterparts in Vietnam. I believe that it is immoral and hypocritical that African-Americans are asked to make the ultimate sacrifice for a nation that refuses to enact a Civil Rights bill to end employment discrimination!

I believe that it is immoral and hypocritical that African-Americans are asked to make the ultimate sacrifice for a nation that refuses to enact a Civil Rights bill to end employment discrimination!

The military training and indoctrination I received from the US Marine Corps was based on racism, sexism, and dehumanizing of other human beings. The suffering of the people of Panama is a result of this callous disregard for human life and basic human rights. The invasion of Panama caused the senseless death of thousands, that included civilians and women and children who were POOR and BLACK like me! There are now 10,000 refugees in Panama nearly a year after the invasion.

I feel ashamed to be a part of an institution that is so hypocritical that it would justify its invasion of Grenada and Panama and condemn another country for its intervention. The United States government ignores international laws concerning its military aggression and calls for their enforcement when their "interests" are involved.

I believe that President Bush has the responsibility to U.S. service-people and their families, taxpayers, the people of Iraq, and to humanity to pursue all avenues that would avoid bloodshed. War is never a solution to international problems; war causes more problems than it solves.

Reprinted from G.I.'s for Peace,

SPEAK OUT OLYMPIA!

NO WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Will the United States start a war on the birthday of North America's greatest advocate of non-violence? January will see rallys and marches around the country to protest the Bush administration's war preparation in the Middle East, as part of a growing voice for peace.

RALLY & MARCH
TUESDAY NOON
JANUARY 15, 1991
Martin Luther King's birthday

SYLVESTER PARK TO THE STATE CAPITOL
PEACE VIGIL TO BE HELD AT 5:30 PM
Bring a candle to the Vietnam War Memorial, Capitol grounds
For more information call the Olympia Anti-Intervention Coalition at 866-9231.

Resolution Passed by Local 443

Local #443 Passed a MIdeast peace resolution at their monthly meeting, December 18. Discussion centered around the many legitimate differences which exist over: 1) when and whether America should forcefully evict Iraq from Kuwait; 2) whether the economic embargo in force against Iraq is now in fact working and, if we have patience, will avoid a military solution; 3) whether young American men and women should be delivered into combat if a vital American interest is not directly threatened; 4) whether initiating a war "is wise"; or 5) whether we should have troops defending Saudi Arabia, a country in which women have no rights as human beings.

Mideast Peace Resolution Passed

We, Local #443, call on President Bush to support a United Nations-sponsored conference which will address the rights of all peoples in the Middle East to live in peace and justice. The goals of the conference would include:

* Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait.

* Negotiated solutions to all occupations in the region.

* Creation of a framework to establish self-determination and security for all the peoples of the Middle East.

* Withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Persian Gulf area, to be replaced by a United Nations peace-keeping force.

Lessons Learned in Political Reality

Dan McGrady

I have been away for a while working on two very different and difficult campaigns. The first was for a candidate for the House of Representatives in the 35th district in which I managed the campaign of a working man and union representative. The second was Congresswoman Jolene Unsoeld's campaign for re-election where I was the coordinator of our neighbors to the south in Lewis County. While both campaigns were very different, both had similar lessons to teach. I realized that no substantive change will take place in the electoral process. Why won't change happen? *Because good people don't run for office and good people don't vote.* Good people are people who care about changing the way we do things. Good people care about changing the practices that degrade the environment, foster sexism, racism and homophobia, allow the Savings and Loan Crisis to occur and support dictatorships all over the world. These practices need to be changed, but the electoral system which discourages good people from running for public office and voting, will not accommodate these changes. In this article, I will relate some preconceptions that I held about people who ran for public office, explain some of the lessons I learned and argue that there will never be substantial change made by the electoral system.

When I was younger (before this summer), people asked me what I wanted to be when I grew up, I replied that I wanted to be a politician. Those people would invariably respond that people who ran for public office were either crazy or greedy. I disagreed. I believed that people who ran for office were either greedy or idealistic (I didn't know then that idealists might be crazy!). After being involved in a few campaigns, I found out that those naysayers were right, but for different reasons than they, or I, might have imagined. There is no room for anyone else.

Good people don't run.

To be elected to public office, a person must have one or both of the following things: a base of support and/or money. In most instances there are two primary bases of support: business or labor (the Big Two). These two bases of support provide most of the money, volunteers and other necessities of a campaign. Consequently, these two constituencies have the most influence in elections and in the Legislative process. I do not need to relate here the drawbacks of the business constituency. The labor constituency, however, is a bit more complicated. While most of us agree with a labor and working people's agenda, it is not broad enough to cover women's issues, environmental concerns, monetary policy, etc. adequately. If a candidate does not have a base of support, he or she will have to have a lot of personal money, try to get it from the Big Two or have access to it outside of the Big Two It is possible for a person to avoid being beholden to one of the Big Two, but it usually takes a lot of personal money. I rarely trust someone with a lot of money.

I believe that campaigns, in their very nature, incidentally, inherently and intentionally disempower and exclude most people in the electorate.

Unfortunately, there are very few other adequately organized and well funded constituencies to support candidates with volunteers or money. Radical feminists, rabid environmentalists, peace freaks and all other bleeding hearts aren't quite organized or able to help candidates in a way that the Big Two can. Sure, there are exceptions, but not enough to make a difference. So here we see that the monetary and other resource demands of a campaign limit those who run for public office and are able to wage a successful campaign. Furthermore, a candidate needs a tremendous amount of time and energy. My first candidate, who worked in a pulp mill, wanted to improve conditions for working people and their families. But being a working person, he didn't have the time to campaign all day every day which is practically a must for low budget campaigns. Fortunately, he possessed a tremendous amount of energy, along with two full time jobs: his regular job and a campaign took their toll on him. Similarly Jolene was in D.C. for most of her general election campaign and didn't have the time to campaign while her opponent, who didn't have a job, campaigned full time. As for energy, Jolene is one in a million who has the energy it takes to run for office and do a million other things as well. On the other hand, most candidates who favor the status quo usually have all the time, money and often the energy to run a full time and well funded campaign which are in most cases a pre-requisite for victory.

Running for office has its good points and great experiences. I don't think, however, that the few good experiences necessarily cancel out many which are pretty lousy. People who run for office are often put under a microscope, drug through the mud, have threats made against their lives, have people who support your opponent tell you you some very mean things, or have people who are supposed to be your friends work against you. Campaigns can ruin a candidate's private life, marriage, family, job and emotional well-being for a relatively small return. For many, the hassle just isn't worth it.

Of course there are exceptions to everything I have said. There are some good if not great candidates running, and I had the privilege of working for two great people. I can successfully argue, though, that all of these negatives combined can and do discourage good people from running and allow even fewer to win. Look at every legislative body in this country if you don't believe me.

Good people don't vote.

I believe an argument can be made that most people who vote don't really want or need to change things in a substantive way. Those who don't vote, for whatever reason, would vote for people who supported substantial change and would benefit the most from it. In addition, I believe that campaigns, in their very nature, incidentally, inherently and intentionally disempower and exclude most people in the electorate. In the following passages, I will explain how.

An effective campaign targets its resources and activities on registered voters who are likely to vote in the next election. The fact that only half the eligible population is registered to vote and only about half of those folks vote eliminates almost three-quarters of the population from consideration in a campaign. (Although campaigns are not elections, I am attempting to draw a parallel between how campaigns are run and the amount of people who vote in the corresponding election.) Each campaign then focuses on either the Democrats or Republicans who happen to be in its party and the body of undecided or independent voters who will make or break an election. To sum up, a campaign's inherent need to target voters intentionally excludes most people from consideration in a campaign.

Another reason candidates talk about nothing is because candidates and their advisers think people are too stupid to understand complicated issues

Another reason campaigns ignore those who don't vote is because most campaigns believe that they don't have the resources to have voter registration drives or reach out to those who don't regularly vote. Moreover, it can be risky to register people who might not vote or vote against you after all that trouble. A better use of resources is to convince those who are going to vote and who are slightly more predictable to vote for you and not your opponent.

Not only is the focus of a campaign's activities and resources disempowering and exclusionary, but what candidates talk about or, rather, what they don't talk about also keep people away. Why do most candidates talk in vague generalities? One explanation is that in most places there aren't enough Democrats or Republicans for a majority in an election. Campaigns must go after the independent voter who, added to the party base, will make a majority. Campaigns assume that independent voters may vote for the candidate rather than what he or she might have to say. As a result, candidates present themselves, not the issues to voters. This has a tendency to turn people off, like myself, who don't like voting for personalities or the candidate who appears to be the lesser of two evils.

Another reason candidates talk about nothing is because candidates and their advisers think people are too stupid to understand complicated issues, can be fooled by vague generalities, and vote for the person not the issues. There is probably a grain of truth to those assumptions. Most people are not experts in any or all of the issues and will tend to vote for someone they trust, but that doesn't mean the issues can be ignored. Perhaps the most important reason they get away with it is because we don't give them any reason to think otherwise. (Look at our President and his predecessor.)

In our system, those who voted for the winners are represented. The other 49% don't count for the most part. If you are consistently in the minority, it seems that your vote doesn't count. If it doesn't count, why vote? If a person is lucky enough to be in the majority and pick a winner, that winner usually doesn't advocate substantial change because, as I explained before, good people usually don't run for office. Brent Knott, Jolene Unsoeld and Bernie Sanders are great exceptions, and sometimes they do win.

During the course of the article, I made many generalizations which will have many exceptions. Good candidates do run for office and even win sometimes. Not all people who vote are Republicans, who aren't all bad anyway. But I believe that the tendencies inherent in how campaigns are run and in our electoral system do keep many good candidates from running and most people from voting. If good people don't vote, then the few good candidates who do run have even a slimmer chance of winning.

If good people ran for office and good people voted for good candidates then we wouldn't have pitifully low voter turn-out and paralyzed legislative bodies which maintain the status-quo. What are we to do? I'd like to talk about that

(Continued next page.)

There Is Logical Insanity At Work

Dear Mr. President,

In these tumultuous, disturbing, and chaotic times both internationally and nationally may I suggest that it would be appropriate for you to pause, rethink, reconsider, and re-evaluate the motives, inspiration, and fundamental bases of your leadership of this beloved land to which we both have pledged our allegiance.

There is a logical insanity at work which has dominated our international posture and much of our domestic thinking since the end of World War II that goes far beyond traditional manifest destiny concepts. We need to rethink and clearly redefine the meanings of such terms as: "national defense," "national destiny," "national security," "national interests," "the American way," and other such terms which have become weasel words or code words to describe questionable and hidden plans and actions developed for often very selfish purposes. We should go back to President Lincoln's thinking that this nation's stature in this fragile world we share should be set by example and not by imposition.

We continue to endure harsh economic dislocation and destruction of basic elements of our infrastructure, our educational systems; we have a runaway and bloated, nonproductive military-industrial structure that is nearly self-perpetuating; and a government that favors multinational corporate enterprises over the concerns and needs of ordinary citizens. All of these phenomena have been carried to an extreme in the last two decades.

So, on this fragile planet which we share biologically with several billion other humans and all the other orders of being in this world, there is little justification for an exploitive United States hegemony which assumes the resources of this earth exist for our selfish benefit nor for a belief that we know what is best for other lands and people and cultures, whether developed or developing in third world circumstances, especially in Latin America and the Middle East. We meddle too much.

Our national leadership, administrative, legislative and judicial has an overriding obligation to all of our citizens to first provide adequate (not marginal) work, adequate housing, a flourishing infrastructure and above all an ingathering national health care system.

We have tended also to introduce an inordinate amount of fuzzy thinking by our use of such labels as "capitalism," "market economy," and "free enterprise," as being synonymous with "democracy." These terms, related of course, are not synonymous, do need to be sorted out and clearly defined. They may well exist in various forms in other political systems.

Careful and thorough intelligence gathering and evaluation is not only prudent, it is essential. But the use of covert operations as a major element of intelligence is a misuse of power that should have little acceptance in a democracy such as ours, especially when cloaked in a secrecy that is almost totally unaccountable, much less challengeable.

Redistribution of wealth is a proper function of governments. How wealth is redistributed is an ethical and moral decision as well as social, political and economic. In a democracy such as ours giving priority to redistribution upward to a favored small and powerful minority is undemocratic. Our national leadership, administrative, legislative and judicial has an overriding obligation to all of our citizens to first provide adequate (not marginal) work, adequate housing, a flourishing infrastructure and above all an ingathering national health care system. It is in these areas that our concerns for the least powerful among us have faltered so terribly and meanly in recent years.

We must recognize that there really are limits of growth to avoid further contamination even destruction of our world. Technological expertise must move beyond the quick fix. Such work must include environmentally sustainable recycling of wastes generated by our technologies. To assume that later technological solutions will solve whatever problems current work generates only complicates an already critical situation. This applies to nuclear energy development as well as general wasted handling in a consumerist society, ground water protection, ozone layer depletion, and on and on.

So, please, take time for a walk in the woods! And do defer precipitating a bloody confrontation in the Middle East until the rethinking process is well underway. Saddem Hussein is not a Hitler and the historical parallel is not there. Hitler represented a resurgent and powerful and ruthless industrial juggernaut. Hussein is a head of state created by the western powers and "the Seven Sisters" as you well know. He is a regional bully as well. Arab culture is sophisticated and complicated and far different from our conventional western outlook on life and treasure. our alliances in their eyes are suspect. We must be careful and try to respect their concerns and interests above our own as outsiders.

There is much to be studied and analyzed in overcoming these logical insanities of our years. It is not my intention as an academic librarian to provide a reading list! But I do hope you and Mrs. Bush will take with you on your walks in the woods a copy of Recollected Essays, 1965-1980 by Wendell Berry. You will also find the November 1990 issue of The Progressive with a series of essays, "Where To From Here?" a most helpful starting point.

I do trust that this communication will receive your personal attention and consideration and that it will be shared by you with others close to you in governing this country which has so much potential for positive leadership by example in participation in the affairs of this planet.

Peace,
James F. Holly
Col, Inf/AUS-Ret

(Lessons, continued)

in another article if people are interested in hearing my solutions. If you are interested, please write me, in care of WIP to tell me what you think. I am open to criticism, and I vigilantly search for answers to the problems I outline.

Dan McGrady is a Coordinator for the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition and is just about to complete his degree at Evergreen.

What Is Capital And What Is Not

Marvin Saillard

Supposedly, we use an economic system called capitalism. However, we would be hard-pressed to find anyone in the capitol city of Olympia, Washington, or in Washington, D.C., who know the economic difference between land and capital. The basic difference is physical. Land was made by God, and capital is made by people. One economic difference is in the way it is affected by taxation.

A tax on the rental-value of land cannot be passed on to the user in the form of higher rent on the land(location). A tax on capital can be passed on in higher prices of man-made goods. But, the economic law of supply and demand says that you cannot sell as many products at a higher price. Therefore, higher taxes on capital tend to result in lower production and in fewer jobs.

Proof that politicians do no know the difference between land and capital can be seen in the real estate property tax that requires land and capital (homes, businesses and improvements) to be taxed at the same rate. People see the bad effects of higher taxes on homes and businesses, and they want to throw the baby out with the bathwater. The bathwater may be dirty, but the baby is clean.

A higher tax on the rental-value of land (the baby) would compel land-title holders with unused or underdeveloped land to put their location to better use or transfer the title to someone who would. That would result in more jobs and a healthier economy. Land cannot use itself, so labor and capital must be called upon to help put the land(location) to a more efficient use. If, at the same time, taxes were taken off of earned incomes from labor and capital, people would be given the incentive to put our land to the best use suited to its location. This would compel undertaxed and underdeveloped land in valuable urban locations to be put to more efficient use. This would require more capital and more labor, and would benefit the whole community by creating a healthier economy.

This would eliminate land speculation and land-price inflation. Since no one can live or work without access to land, lower land prices would bring down the price of nearly everything made on and from the land.

Tell your politicians that you know the economic difference between land and products(capital). Tell them you want them to tax the rent-of-land more, and to tax the homes and businesses and products less. This will prevent land-title holders from charging us higher land-rent (land-prices_ for hood government and good locations while the community government is charging us higher taxes to pay for these things.

Since no one can live or work without access to land, lower land prices would bring down the price of nearly everything made on and from the land.

If we knew the economic difference between land and capital, we could make capitalism work a whole lot better.

Mr. Saillard is a prolific writer and a member of the Washington State Georgist Association.

(continued from cover)

per gallon gain in car fleet efficiency. Consider that as much energy leaks through American windows every year as flows through the Alaskan pipeline. If existing oil-burning homes were properly weatherized, the country could save one-third as much oil as was imported from Iraq and Kuwait, about 80 million barrels a year.

The potential for savings is there and it is real. The amount of energy currently wasted by American cars, homes, appliances, and mass transit systems equals more than double the energy potential from oil and gas reserves in all of the Alaskan Lands and the U.S. Outer Continental Shelf that the oil companies have targeted for drilling.

mpg. If mpg standards were 60 for cars and 45 for light trucks, the equivalent of 29 billion barrels of oil would be saved by 2020.

The U.S. could save the equivalent amount of oil produced by Iraq and Kuwait through a 1.5 mile per gallon per year fuel economy increase over seven years. And the technology already exists to implement these efficiencies at great savings to the consumer. Studies by national laboratories, including some sponsored by the Department of Energy, have demonstrated that these savings are feasible and would cost far less than finding new oil resources offshore or in the Artic Refuge.

Using the Iraq/Kuwait crisis as a smokescreen, Big Oil moved rapidly . . . hoping to stampede legislators into opening up national wildlife refuges, federally protected wilderness areas and protected offshore waters for drilling.

The 1991 Energy Policy should stress conservation and efficiency improvements, especially in the automotive industry. Since 1985, the federal miles-per-gallon standards for automobiles and trucks have been rolled back four times. Even though 78 percent of American voters believe that new cars should average 45 mpg by the year 2000, the federal government only requires what it did in 1985- 27.5 miles to the gallon. In fact, new cars manufactured in 1989 were less efficient than those in 1988. The crude oil wasted in 1986 by that year's rollback of light-vehicle efficiency standards equalled the amount of oil which may lie beneath the Artic Refuge.

Proof does exist in prototypes developed by Volvo, Renault, Peugeot and Toyota with fuel efficiency ranging between 69 and 122 gasoline every day.

The Federal Energy Policy should reflect those options which promote a healthy environment, international security, sustainable growth, and the use of alternative energy sources. Individual action can influence the federal government to change its policies. Some things all people should do are:

* Drive less-Everyday the U.S. fleet of 135 million automobiles burns 82 million gallons of gas. If those cars stayed home one day a week, we could save the same amount of oil we import from Iraq and Kuwait. Every five miles-per-hour over fifty-five consumes an extra ten percent more gas.

* Take mass transit-If current levels of transit use were to increase fifty percent, we could save more than 3 billion barrels of oil over the next 20 years.

*Commute-If every commuter car carried just one more passenger, we could save 32 million gallons of gasoline every day.

*Maintain your fuel-efficient car, weatherize your home, tune-up your furnace, and buy efficient appliances.

*Use efficient light bulbs-A single compact flourescent light bulb, over its lifetime, saves enough electricity to prevent the emission of 1,018 pounds of carbon dioxide and saves $45 in lower utility bills, more than enough to pay for the $20 bulb.

*Recycle-Making new paper from old paper uses 30 to 50 percent less energy than it takes to make new paper from trees. Making aluminum from recycled aluminum uses 90 percent less energy than it takes to make aluminum from scratch. Recycling a single glass container saves enough energy to power a 100 watt light bulb for four hours.

Efficiency through conservation is the first important step towards achieving a liveable world. Other countries are ahead of the U.S. in this respect. Indeed, if the U.S. became as efficient as Japan, we could cut our $400 billion energy bill in half at an annual cost of $50 billion. Reducing serious environmental impacts, saving preserved lands and areas, and eliminating dependency on imported oil would at the same time save Americans $150 billion a year, money that could be spent on other things. Not to forget, efficiency would also save the lives of our fellow Americans who are now in the Saudi Desert, ready to wage war against Iraq for oil.

The only ones who would really suffer from an efficient energy policy would be the oil companies (and the nuclear industry if solar and wind sources were used).

We can not let their profits dictate our lives by guiding our energy consumption.

This article was excerpted, compiled, and arranged from the following sources with their permission:

"Assembling a New National Energy Policy" by David Houghton and Rick Heede for Building Economic Alternatives, a quarterly publication of Co-op America, Winter 1990-91. For more information write to Co-op America, 2100 M Street, NW Suite 403, Washington DC 20063.

NRDC Newsline, Vol. 8, No. 5, Oct/Nov 1990. Write to them for information about their new National Energy Efficiency Initiative, designed to change our nation's energy program, at Natural Resources Defense Council, 40 West 20th Street, New York, New York 10011.

Letter of information, NRDC, John H. Adams, Executive Director.

Reproductive Rights Coalition Advocates Freedom For All

We are committed to developing an organization that is dedicated to securing reproductive freedom for all people. We view reproductive freedom as an essential aspect of liberty and will pursue any legal, non-violent and effective means to achieve our ends.

It is our view that to be equal participants in society women must be in control of their own lives which includes making their own reproductive choices. It is the woman alone who best knows her own life, self, principles and circumstances. The issue of reproductive freedom is broader than just contraception and abortion. However, access to abortion is fundamental to reproductive freedom — it embraces economics, social services and civil rights.

The Reproductive Rights Coalition works for:

* Access to sex education for both women and men about all currently existing methods of contraception;

* Access to affordable, reliable and safe forms of birth control;

* Access to affordable and safe abortion services in both public and private settings;

* The right of women to freely choose to have children, and therefore we oppose forced sterilization and coercive use of birth control.

In order to win reproductive rights the Reproductive Rights Coalition seeks to organize a struggle which is inclusive rather than exclusive. It is important to remember that the rights of the poorest women and women of color were the first to be attacked under the Hyde Amendment of 1976 and through forced sterilization practices. In order to have full reproductive freedom for women and men the Reproductive Rights Coalition supports:

* High quality and accessible child care;

* Good school systems;

* Affordable food and housing;

* Wages high enough to support a family;

* Affordable health care, especially pre- and post-natal and maternal health care;

* Increased federal spending for contraceptive research, especially on RU486.

All of the above-mentions rights and resources must be available to everyone—women, men, minorities and people of color, the physically challenged, economically disadvantaged, members of alternative family structures, and teenagers—everyone. It is our purpose to defend, educate and advocate for true reproductive freedom for all.

Free Military Draft Information Sessions Will Be Given

The Thurston County Draft Counseling Center will be providing, free of charge, a basic draft information group session. This session will is open to the public and will be offered a number of times beginning January 12, 1991.

Earth Magic has graciously agreed to allow the Thurston County Draft Counseling Center to hold it's sessions in the store's loft. The stairs to the loft are towards the back and on the left as you enter the store.

Schedule of Military Draft Counseling Session

Saturday, January 12	10 am - 12 pm
Monday, January 14	6 - 8 pm
Monday, January 28	6 - 8 pm
Saturday, February 9	10 am - 12 pm
Monday, February 11	6 - 8 pm
Friday, February 25	6 - 8 pm

Location of Sessions: Earth Magic, 205 E. Fourth, Olympia
Thurston County Draft Counseling Center - 941-9093

Martin Luther King Day Celebration

Monday, January 21st

Noon

Washington Center for the Performing Arts

Produced by the Olympia Branch of the Tacoma Urban League